THE WORLD OF JUBA II AND KLEOPATRA SELENE

Royal scholarship on Rome's African frontier

Duane W. Roller

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PREFACE

Juba II (48 BC–AD 23/24) ruled Mauretania – northwestern Africa – as a Roman client king for half a century, from 25 BC until his death. Moreover, he was a notable scholar, a product of the intellectual flourishing of the Augustan world. His extensive literary output exists today only in fragments, but is the basis of modern understanding of the ancient comprehension of the southern half of the known world, the vast stretch from the Atlantic coast of northwest Africa to India. Juba was not alone as a scholarly king but was the exemplar of that unusual blend of talents, and was called in antiquity "rex literatissimus." His scholarship was found significant by successors as diverse as Pliny, Plutarch, and Athenaios.

An essential, yet enigmatic, part of Juba's environment is the personality of his wife, Kleopatra Selene (40–*ca.* 5 BC), the daughter of Marcus Antonius and Kleopatra VII. As queen of Mauretania (and also titular queen of the Kyrenaika) she played a crucial role at the royal court; as heiress of the Ptolemies she brought not only stature but a rich cultural inheritance that was to be a major influence on Juba's research. Yet because of the deficiency of source material and her early death she is often hard to see, although her presence was profound.

Juba was rescued by Julius Caesar from the ruins of his father's kingdom of Numidia and was raised in Rome in the Augustan household. He was then sent with Kleopatra Selene to uphold Roman interests in Mauretania, an outstanding example of the Augustan phenomenon of the client king, more properly the "rex socius amicusque," the friendly and allied king, the sympathetic monarch at the fringes of the empire who could be relied upon to uphold Roman interests, both culturally and politically. Less controversial than his more famous colleague Herod the Great, Juba in his reign brought a flourishing intellectual climate, and above all peace and prosperity, to his territories.

Yet this learned monarch is often remembered today merely as the son-in-law of Marcus Antonius and Kleopatra VII, and as such merely a footnote to history. There has been no extensive study of Juba II, Kleopatra Selene, and their world since French efforts at the time of the First World War.

What follows is not only the first examination of their lives and careers in English but the first analytical critique of the king both as an implementer of the Augustan program and as a notable scholar in his own right. Indeed, within half a century of his death he was commemorated as one whose scholarship was more significant than his kingship. But his writings have largely been ignored – beyond the collecting of the fragments of his works – and he has been considered as little more than yet another ancient author whose output has not survived. Likewise, his role as king, however inferior to his impact as historian, explorer, and geographer, has tended to be analyzed in a colonialist context, the defender of Roman civilization against the barbarians, rather than as a crucial factor in the multiculturalism that was the Roman Empire. Juba was a romanized Numidian married to a wife who was half Greek and half Roman, and this background remains a significant part of his outlook. This is especially apparent in the cultural richness of the court at Mauretanian Caesarea, whose diversity exceeded that of the more restricted ethnic milieus of the other client kingdoms. It is becoming increasingly obvious today that ethnic interaction was one of the most powerful cultural factors in ancient society: this has been dramatically demonstrated by Nikos Kokkinos in his recent study of the Herodian family.[1]

It was Glen Bowersock who many years ago introduced the present author to Juba and Kleopatra Selene. Interest further developed from study of Herod the Great and awareness of the complexity of his world, leading to the comprehension that the Augustan era was one of rich and diverse cultural factors running far beyond the traditional understanding of this period. Even the fragmentary authors of Greco-Roman antiquity deserve analysis, and it became clear that Juban studies needed to move beyond the colonialist perspectives of the first half of the twentieth century. Juba was both scholar and king, and any study of his career must attend to both of these roles. Kleopatra Selene was queen and her mother's heir, and in many ways an implementer of Juba's kingship and scholarship. But what follows is not a biography: rather, it is a cultural analysis of personalities and the world that produced them and upon which they had impact. Individuals cannot be separated from their environment, and truly to understand creativity one must attempt to absorb what the creative individual was thinking, saw, and experienced, during both the crucially formative years of adolescence and the time of productivity. The friends of his youth, his teachers and colleagues, the books in his library, the intellectual background of his spouse, and indeed the view from his study are all components of Juba's intellectual processes and collectively determined the ideas he thought and the words he set down.

1 Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*. Even as early as the fifth century BC, questions were being raised as to the meaning of ethnicity. Herodotos (1.146–7) was well aware that claims of ethnic purity or superiority could be manipulated to create a false impression. See, further, for a good discussion of modern scholarship and its attitude toward ethnicity, Jeremy McInerney, *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), pp. 8–39.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA: *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AÉpigr: *L'Année épigraphique*
AF: Archäologische Forschungen
AfrIt: *Africa Italiana*
AfrRom: *L'Africa Romana*
AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP: *American Journal of Philology*
AncHBull: *Ancient History Bulletin*
AncSoc: *Ancient Society*
AncW: *The Ancient World*
AnnPerugia: *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli Studi di Perugia*
AnnSiena: *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* (Siena)
ANRW: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ANSMN: *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*
AntAfr: *Antiquités africaines*
AntCl: *L'Antiquité Classique*
AntK: *Antike Kunst*
AnzWien: *Anzeiger.* Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse
ArchCl: *Archeologia classica*
ArchStorTL: *Archivo storico di Terra di Lavoro*
AttiVen: *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*
BAAlg: *Bulletin d'archéologie algérienne*
BAC: *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*
BAGRW: *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. Richard J. Talbert (Princeton, N.J., 2000)
BAMaroc: *Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine*
BAntFr: *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*
BAR: British Archaeological Reports
BAR-IS: British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BCH: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*

BÉFAR: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BIALond: *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London*
BJb: *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*
BMC: *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*
Braund, *Friendly King*: David C. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship* (London 1984)
Broughton: T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 15 (New York 1951–2, 1986)
CAH: *The Cambridge Ancient History*
CÉFR: Collection de l'École française de Rome
CHJ: *Cambridge Historical Journal*
CHL: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum
CIL: *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CJ: *Classical Journal*
ClBul: *The Classical Bulletin*
Cleopatra: *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth*, ed. Susan Walker and Peter Higgs (London 2001)
Coltelloni-Trannoy: Michèle Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Le Royaume de Maurétanie sous Juba II et Ptolémée* (Paris 1997)
CP: *Classical Philology*
CQ: *Classical Quarterly*
CRAI: *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris)
CSCA: *University of California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
CW: *The Classical World*
CWHF: *The Cambridge World History of Food*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas (Cambridge 2000)
DenkschrWien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften
EAA: *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*
EB: *Encyclopédie berbere* (Aix-en-Provence 1984–)
EchCl: *Echoes du monde classique*
EntrHardt: Entretiens Hardt
EpSt: Epigraphische Studien
FGrHist: Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden 1923–)
FHG: K. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* (Paris 1841–1938)
FolOr: *Folia Orientalia*
GGM: *Geographi graeci minores*, ed. C. Müller (1855)
GLM: *Geographi latini minores*, ed. Alexander Riese (1878)
GRBS: *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
Gsell: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris 1914–28)

HA: *Historia Augusta*
HRR: Hermann Peter, *Historicorum romanorum reliquae* (Stuttgart 1967)
HSCP: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
IDélos: *Inscriptions de Délos*
IG: *Inscriptiones graecae*
IGRR: *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*
ILS: *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau (1892–1916)
IrAnt: *Iranica Antiqua*
IstForsch: Istanbuler Forschungen
Jacoby, *Commentary*: Felix Jacoby, Commentary to *FGrHist* #275 (3a, pp. 317–57)
Jacoby, *RE*: Felix Jacoby, "Iuba II" (#2), *RE* 9, 1916, 2384–95
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBerlMus: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*
JdI: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JEA: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
Jodin, *Volubilis*: André Jodin, *Volubilis, Regia Iubae: contribution à l'étude des civilisations du Maroc antique préclaudien* (Paris 1987)
JRA: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS: *Journal of Roman Studies*
JSav: *Journal des Savants*
Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*: Nikos Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society, and Eclipse*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 30 (Sheffield 1998)
LCM: *Liverpool Classical Monthly*
Leveau, *Caesarea*: Philippe Leveau, *Caesarea de Maurétanie: une ville romaine et ses campagnes*, CÉFR 70 (1984)
LibAE: *Libyca Archéologie-Épigraphie*
LIMC: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
Lixus: *Lixus*, CÉFR 166, 1992
LSJ: H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, *Greek–English Lexicon*, ninth edition (Oxford 1940)
MAAR: *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
Mazard: Jean Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque* (Paris 1955)
MÉFR: *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*
MÉFRA: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*
MM: *Madrider Mitteilungen*
MusHelv: *Museum Helveticum*
ND: *Numismatic Digest*
NH: Pliny, *Natural History*
NP: *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*
NTDAR: L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 1992)

Numider: *Die Numider: Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*, ed. Heinz Günter Horn and Christoph B. Rüger (Cologne 1979)
OCD: *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, third edition (Oxford 1997)
OGIS: *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*
OJA: *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
OLD: *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1982)
OxyPap: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt (London 1898–)
PACA: *Proceedings of the African Classical Associations*
PBSR: *Papers of the British School at Rome*
PCG: *Poetae Comici Graeci*, ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin 1983–)
PCPS: *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PECS: *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*
PEQ: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PIR: *Prosopographia imperii romani*
PP: *La parola del passato*
QS: *Quaderni di Storia* (Bari)
RA: *Revue archéologique*
RAfr: *Revue africaine*
RAssyr: *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RE: Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RÉA: *Revue des études anciennes*
RÉG: *Revue des études grecques*
RÉL: *Revue des études latines*
RGM: *Revue de géographie du Maroc*
RHCM: *Revue d'histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb*
RHist: *Revue historique*
RIDA: *Revue international des droits de l'antiquité*
Ritter, *Rom*: Hans Werner Ritter, *Rom und Numidien: Untersuchungen zur rechtlichen Stellung abhängiger Könige* (Lüneburg 1987)
RM: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
RN: *Revue numismatique*
Roller, *Herod*: Duane W. Roller, *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998)
Romanelli, *Storia*: Pietro Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa*, Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica 14 (Rome 1959)
SchwMbll: *Schweizer Münzblätter*
SEG: *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*
SIG: *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* (Leipzig 1883–)
StMagr: *Studi Magrebini*
Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*: Richard D. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome, 100–30 BC*, Phoenix Supplementary Volume 24 (Toronto 1990)
SymbOslo: *Symbolae Osloenses*

TAPA: *Transactions of the American Philological Society*
Thomson: J. Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge 1948)
TI: *Terrae Incognitae*
WA: *World Archaeology*
Wrack: *Das Wrack: Der Antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, ed. Gisela Hellenkemper Salies *et al.* (Cologne 1994)
ZfN: *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*
ZPE: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

INTRODUCTION

Juba II[1] was born about 48 BC, the son of King Juba I of Numidia, the territory south and west of Carthage. Within two years he was an orphan and had been removed to Rome as a captive, displayed in the African triumph of Julius Caesar in 46 BC. Why this happened is connected with the convoluted and lengthy history of the Roman relationship with Africa and the impact of the Roman civil wars. The royalty of Numidia had been involved in Roman affairs for over 150 years. Juba's great-great-great-grandfather, the erudite warrior king Massinissa, was a follower of Scipio Africanus and lived to the age of 90, surviving both the Second and the Third Punic Wars and presiding over a notable and cultured court. Massinissa's grandson – Juba's great-great-uncle – was the famous Jugurtha, who had his own complex relationship with Rome. Juba's grandfather Hiempsal was a historian, and his father, Juba I, had come to Rome on a Numidian embassy in the 80s BC, only to be insulted and assaulted by the young Julius Caesar, which meant that when Juba I became king he naturally gravitated toward the faction of Gaius Pompeius.

1 *PIR*² I65. The name is inevitably "Iuba" in Latin, whether in literature or on inscriptions or coins. In Greek, Ἰόβας is the usual form (occasionally Ἰόβα), but Strabo and Dio used Ἰούβας. Inscriptions are not consistent: *IG* 3¹.555, 936 and 2–3².3436 have Ἰούβας but *OGIS* 198 has Ἰόβας; yet all are from Athens and roughly contemporary with the king himself. Despite the general prevalence of Ἰόβας in Greek, two sources in personal contact with Juba, Strabo and the commissioners of *IG* 2–3².3436, used Ἰούβας. This is more in conformity with the Latin and may have been the form actually preferred by the king. His father's Punic coin legends have the equivalent of "Iobai" (Figure 25b, p. 245; Mazard #84–93), perhaps closer to the common Greek Ἰόβας, and all Greek sources have this form for Juba I. The spelling Ἰούβας used by Strabo, Dio, and the Athenians for Juba II may have been transliterated from Latin.

It is possible that Juba was not the name given to the son of Juba I by his parents. Unlike many of the Greek dynasties, the Numidian royal family did not tend to use the same name. In the ten known generations (nearly thirty individuals), names repeat only on two occasions other than Juba I and II: the two Hiempsals and the two Massinissas (Appendix 2, Stemma B). In both cases the relationship is not close: the former were cousins (thus Hiempsal II was not a direct descendant of Hiempsal I) and the latter five generations apart, Massinissa II being a petty chieftain who probably took the name of his illustrious ancestor. Thus it is probable that Juba II, his actual name unknown, was given his father's name by the Romans.

Juba I had great plans for a North African empire, but these collapsed after the death of Pompeius, and he was defeated by Caesar at Thapsus and committed suicide: hence his infant son appeared in the triumph in the summer of 46 BC. Although some of those in the triumph were executed, a decision was made to spare young Juba, for reasons that are not clear. By the time of Caesar's death two years later, Juba was handed over to one of Caesar's relatives and eventually ended up in the household of his grandniece Octavia. Here he grew up along with the other children of the emergent imperial family, being particularly close to Marcellus and Tiberius, who were near his age. Although as a barbarian Juba did not have the status that the Roman children had, Augustus strongly believed that foreign children within his extended family were to be treated as natural-born ones, and at some time Juba was given Roman citizenship.

As a young man growing up in an aristocratic Roman household, Juba received the best contemporary education, specializing in linguistics, Roman history, natural history, and the arts. It seems likely that he had contact with scholars such as Varro and Dionysios of Halikarnassos. Strabo of Amaseia seems to have been a particularly close teacher or fellow student. Juba also learned about his own ancestral heritage through the Numidian exile communities in Rome. African culture of another sort became available after 30 BC when the children of Marcus Antonius and Kleopatra VII became part of Octavia's family, bringing with them a substantial entourage and much information about the world of the Ptolemies.

By this time Juba would have been nearly 20, and although it is not clear what life was being planned for him, his talents as a scholar were being recognized as he published his first works. His literary career probably began with the *Roman Archaeology*, perhaps reflecting the influence of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. Its two books covered the vast range from the mythological foundation of Italy to at least the Spanish wars of the second century BC, but it seems to have emphasized elements that were of particular relevance to the Augustan era, such as the ancient cults that were being rejuvenated, and the relationship between Rome and Africa. Although the subject of Roman origins was a common one for the period, Juba's version gained respect for reliability, especially in his handling of early material.

Another youthful work is the *Omoiotetes* (*Resemblances* or *Equivalences*), a linguistic composition whose goal was to prove the Greek origin of the Latin language, another topical concern in Augustan Rome. It too seems to have focused on early cultic matters, especially terminology. Fifteen books are known, an incredible length contrasted with the scantiness of the *Archaeology*. It is thus possible that there has been a confusion of titles and that both are the same lengthy work on Roman history, cult, and linguistics.

Juba also wrote *On Painting*, a derivative critique of works visible in contemporary Rome, and a *Theatrical History*, whose emphasis seems to have

been on production details, especially musical ones. Although it too was probably derivative, it is one of the major bodies of information on ancient music, since Juba's sources, mostly from Hellenistic south Italy, are even less extant than his treatise. He also wrote a commentary on the voyage of Hanno, the great Carthaginian explorer who had descended to the tropics of West Africa and may have circumnavigated the continent, and it is perhaps through Juba's efforts that Hanno's report survives today. Thus by his early twenties, just as Octavian became Augustus and plans were being made for the future, Juba already had a reputation as a scholar of note, with several published works.

At some time Augustus realized that he had a talent within his household who could play a role in the developing plans for postwar Rome. But Juba needed military experience, so, late in 27 BC, he, along with Marcellus and Tiberius, joined the Princeps in Spain. Augustus resided in Tarraco tending to administration while the young men waged war against various Spanish tribes, remaining there until late 25 BC. It was here that the final part of Juba's education took place – his training as a soldier and leader – and Augustus began to implement the plans for his destiny.

Juba could not be sent back to rule his ancestral territories because those had been provincialized by Caesar twenty years previously. But to the west was an anomalous area loosely called Mauretania, and increasingly of concern to the Romans. It had been ruled by a native dynasty – perhaps related to the Numidian one – that had become somewhat romanized. About the time of Juba's birth Mauretania had been split between two contentious relatives, Bocchus and Bogudes, who tended to take opposite sides in Roman affairs. Yet by 31 BC both were dead with no heirs, and thus at the end of the civil war the status of their territories was uncertain. Moreover, Romans from Spain had long been drifting into northwest Mauretania, largely for commercial reasons, and there were a number of Roman settlements that may have been virtual colonies. Hence it would have seemed to Augustus that some normalization was necessary. Thus in 25 BC he decided to settle the issue by placing Juba in charge of Mauretania as king. Following the loose procedures of client kingship, Juba was available, competent, a protégé of prominent Romans, and even had some vague association with the region. But there was one unsettled matter: the finding of a suitable wife to be Juba's partner, someone who could assist in creating a stable kingship and in bringing Roman ways to North Africa. Augustus did not have to look beyond his extended family for a promising candidate: his stepniece, the 15-year-old Kleopatra Selene, the only surviving child of Antonius and Kleopatra VII. Since Kleopatra Selene had been living with Octavia for the previous five years, she and Juba were doubtless already well acquainted. One can only imagine the vitality and precociousness of this child, who had a legal claim to be the queens of both Libya and Egypt, and thus her own African connection to complement that of Juba. As one of the few remaining children

of Antonius, she was too dangerous either to execute or to keep in Rome, and Augustus must have felt that the ideal solution to this problem was to send her to Mauretania as Juba's wife. She brought her rich Ptolemaic heritage to the kingdom, and, presumably, her mother's skill and determination. She married Juba late in 25 BC; Krinagoras of Mytilene wrote an epigram for the occasion. The royal couple then departed for Iol, Bocchus' old capital, which, in the emerging fashion of the era, was promptly renamed Caesarea.

The monarchs ruled together for the next twenty years, and Juba alone for nearly thirty more, controlling a vast territory from Roman Africa to the Atlantic, the largest and probably the most amorphous of the client kingdoms. Much of the time was spent in defending the frontier, not always successfully. Barbarian incursions were a constant threat, part of the never-ending conflicts between populations with different cultures and outlooks; Roman military assistance became an early and constant feature of the reign. But Juba and Kleopatra Selene were also assiduous in bringing Mauretania into the imperial economic sphere: the kingdom produced vast amounts of grain, fish, *garum*, purple dye, and timber for export to Italy. A long series of cornucopia coins shows that Juba saw the kingdom as one of the economic mainstays of the empire. He fostered close relationships with Spain and was even appointed city magistrate at two Spanish cities.

At Caesarea, Juba and Kleopatra Selene developed a rich court that combined Roman, Ptolemaic, and indigenous African elements. Saturn, the *frugifer deus*, seems to have been a chief divinity, along with Herakles (whose last labor was localized in Mauretania and who was said to have been an ancestor of both the monarchs), and of course the imperial cult. Building on his acquisition of the Carthaginian state library from the heirs of the historian Sallust, Juba created one of the best royal libraries and attracted scholars and artists: although the few extant names are obscure, they include the court tragedian Leonteus of Argos, the botanist and physician Euphorbos, the historians Asarubas and Cornelius Bocchus, and the gemcutter Gnaios. Kleopatra Selene brought her own entourage, refugees from her mother's court, which would further have heightened the multiculturalism of Caesarea. There was continuing contact with Augustan Rome and with the developing Augustan intellectual circle: Juba was constantly sending information to Marcus Agrippa for his map of the Roman world. Caesarea was probably a richer, more diverse environment than any of the eastern courts.

Scholar that he was, Juba immediately set out to explore and study his territory. Expeditions were sent into the High Atlas, the Sahara, and the Atlantic. His commentary on Hanno had already interested him in the west coast of Africa, and he became familiar with other explorations, such as the Carthaginian circumnavigation of the continent, and those of Eudoxos of Kyzikos, who had had good reason to believe that India could be reached from West Africa. Juba's explorations resulted in the two most enduring legacies of his scholarship. In the High Atlas he discovered a type of spurge

that he named euphorbion after his physician, writing a treatise on it, the basis for the modern botanical family Euphorbiaceae and genus Euphorbia. He also explored islands in the Atlantic noted for their large dogs, which he named in Greek but which are known today from Pliny's Latin as the Canaries.

Juba also began work on a major treatise titled *Libyka* that would examine all of North Africa outside Lower Egypt. It outlined not only the history, geography, and natural history of his territories but also other issues of increasing concern to the king, such as direct access to East Africa and India from Mauretania. Building on Ptolemaic explorations of the upper Nile, he concluded that the river originated in Mauretania, to Juba a politically correct idea, and one that lasted well into the nineteenth century. The surviving fragments of *Libyka* include a diversity of subjects, but one of special importance is the discussion of the North African elephant, the major source of information for this now extinct animal.

Libyka was probably published around 5 BC. Augustus was impressed enough to include Juba as geographical adviser on the eastern expedition of his grandson Gaius Caesar, which set forth in 2 BC. The king was one of several distinguished staff members: his decision to go was made easier by the fact that he had recently become a widower. He traveled with Gaius from Antioch to Gaza and inland to Petra and the fringes of Arabia, and then back to Antioch, all the time gathering material for his next work, *On Arabia*. He had left the expedition before Gaius fatally encountered the Armenians, instead joining his fellow client king Archelaos of Kappadokia at his court city of Elaioussa-Sebaste and completing *On Arabia* in its library. *On Arabia* extended the concept of *Libyka* to the east, and together the two works were an examination of the southern half of the known world, from the Atlantic to India. Although much of the treatise is concerned with Arabia, especially the commercial and trade exports of the peninsula – information obtained in the markets of Gaza and Petra – emphasis is on a related Augustan concern, the routes to India and their economic potential. Juba had long been interested in this topic, both in his search for the Atlantic route to India and in his decision extend the scope of *Libyka* into East Africa, a region even today frequented by Indian merchants. But Augustus' interest in reopening Indian trade had not been paralleled by recent scholarly examination, and there had been little material added since the time of Alexander the Great. Indian trade had flourished under the Ptolemies but had collapsed with the fall of that dynasty, and Juba, with his Ptolemaic contacts, his published knowledge of East Africa, and his general expertise in trade and exploration, was the natural scholar to research the topic.

While he was in residence at the court of Archelaos, Juba's personal life took an unexpected turn. Here he met and married Glaphyra, Archelaos' daughter, another dynamic eastern princess, and recently widowed from a

son of Herod the Great. Clearly Archelaos and Juba had grandiose dynastic plans for linking East and West, but for some reason the marriage did not last. Despite Augustus' regular favor of intermarriages between royal families, he might well have disapproved of this sudden connection between the two most powerful client kings, and when major barbarian incursions at home caused Juba to rush back to Mauretania, he divorced Glaphyra and went alone.

When Juba returned home, perhaps around AD 3, he began to show the signs of age, writing no more and embarking on no more expeditions. Approaching 60, he handed over many affairs of state to his son Ptolemaios, the last royal bearer of that illustrious name, who appears on coins from AD 5 and seems to have been raised to virtually equal rule sometime after AD 11. Ptolemaios' regnal years began around AD 17–21; in the former year, the great rebellion of Tacfarinas broke out. This went on for over six years and required major Roman intervention; although Roman Africa was more threatened than Mauretania, Juba and Ptolemaios were also heavily involved. In the midst of the uprising, in AD 23 or 24, Juba died, in his early seventies. Ptolemaios helped bring the rebellion to conclusion and was validated as king by the Roman senate.

Little is known about Ptolemaios' reign, although he clearly did not have the stature and intellect of his father. He may have been educated in Athens and was honored at the Gymnasion of Ptolemaios there, which had been built by an ancestor. But as a grandson of Antonius he fell victim to the power politics within the imperial family. He seems to have lacked his father's diplomacy and incautiously flaunted his power and independence. Eventually his cousin, the emperor Gaius Caligula, summoned him to Rome for an explanation. What happened next is obscure, but the situation deteriorated and Ptolemaios was suddenly executed. At worst, it was another example of the emperor's hostile treatment of his relatives; at best, his erratic reaction to Ptolemaios' seemingly inappropriate behavior as a client king. In any case, this meant the end of the kingdom, as Ptolemaios had no heir, and the territory was provincialized by Claudius.

Ancient and modern sources

The only contemporary literary sources for Juba II are slight, perhaps Horace, *Ode* 1.22, and Krinagoras of Mytilene, *Epigrams* 18 and 25. A number of inscriptions provide some prosopographic information and are especially illustrative about members of the royal court.[2] Velleius Paterculus documented the

2 The major inscriptions are collected in Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 218–19. Most important is *CIL* 2.3417 (=*ILS* 840), from Carthago Nova in Spain, where Juba held a magistracy, which provides details of his ancestry. Others include *CIL* 3.8927, 9257, 9342; *IG* 3^1.549, 555, 936; and *IG* $2–3^2$.3436.

eastern campaign of Gaius Caesar to Arabia in which he and Juba took part, but did not mention Juba.[3] Strabo of Amaseia, a friend and schoolmate of the king, made several casual references, probably written just after Juba's death, but did not seem to have access to his scholarly output.[4] The bulk of the material about the king's life and career comes from standard sources for the Augustan period, especially Appian, Dio, Josephus, Plutarch, and Tacitus,[5] which are enough to construct the basic outline of his life, but all are brief and scattered, and few mention Kleopatra Selene. Another contemporary source is the art and architecture of the royal city of Caesarea and other sites in the Mauretanian kingdom. Further, there is the large number of coins that both Juba and Kleopatra Selene issued, separately and jointly. Kleopatra Selene had autonomous powers of coinage, and occasionally even honored her mother on her coins. These are especially useful in providing contemporary visual portraits of the sovereigns and elements of the material culture of their kingdom, particularly their architecture and royal symbols.[6]

The earliest extant authors to quote Juba's works were Dioskourides and perhaps Pomponius Mela, both in the middle of the first century AC (after Christ).[7] Over 100 fragments of the king's writings survive, some quite lengthy, which also provide a certain amount of information about his life.[8] Nearly half are found in the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, written forty to fifty years after Juba's death; much of Pliny's material on northwestern Africa, the upper Nile, the Red Sea, and Arabia originates with Juba.[9] Many of the remaining fragments come from two additional authors: Plutarch, who used Juba's *Roman Archaeology* as a source for early Roman history, and Athenaios, whose interests were in drama, the theater, and linguistics.[10] Other sources for the works of Juba include Aelian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Lucius Ampelius, Avienus, Galen, Harpokration, Philostratos, Photios,

3 Velleius 2.101–4.

4 Strabo 6.4.2; 17.3.7, 12, 25.

5 Appian, *Civil War* 2.101; Dio 51.15.6, 53.26.2, 55.28.3–4; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 17.349–50; *Jewish Wars* 2.115; Plutarch, *Antonius* 87; *Caesar* 55.1–2; *Sulla* 16.8; *Sertorius* 9.5; Tacitus, *Annals* 4.5.

6 Much has been written about the coinage, and many of the relevant articles are cited in the following text. The most thorough publication is Jean Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1955); see also Jacques Alexandropoulos, *Les Monnaies de l'Afrique Antique, 400 av. J.-C. – 40 ap. J.-C.* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2000), pp. 213–44, 413–35.

7 Dioskourides 3.82; Pomponius Mela 1.30. The recent suggestion that Vitruvius quoted Juba's *Libyka* is implausible: see further, infra, p. 183, note 2).

8 These are collected as *FGrHist* #275. Because of Felix Jacoby's policy of considering as a fragment only those citations that actually name the author (on this, see *FGrHist* 4a1, pp. xii–xiii), it is probable that the surviving fragments of Juba's works, especially in Books 5 and 6 of Pliny's *Natural History* and Book 4 of the *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaios, are far more extensive than the occasional point at which the king is mentioned.

9 Juba, fr. 1–3, 28–44, 54, 57–60, 62–9, 72–9.

10 The major citations are Plutarch, *Romulus* 14, 15, 17; *Numa* 7, 13; *Roman Questions* 4, 24, 59, 78, 89; and Athenaios 1.15, 3.83, 98, 4.170, 175–85, 8.343, 14.660.

Quintilian, and Tatian.[11] Athenaios and Aelian, both active around AD 200, seem to be the last to have quoted Juba directly and at length. His actual writings were probably lost shortly after that time, and later citations in various Byzantine lexica are derivative.

Modern interest began in the mid-nineteenth century with Konrad Müller's identification and publication of ninety-one fragments of Juba's writings[12] and the appearance of a number of German dissertations,[13] more collations of the fragments than critiques. A slightly more critical attitude was displayed by Hermann Peter in the 1870s,[14] and in 1883 the first French study of Juba appeared.[15] Yet throughout the century, more emphasis was placed on Juba as a fragmentary author than as a cultural figure, although he was early recognized as significant in the history of geography.[16]

When the French colonial presence was established in northern Africa late in the century, interest turned toward the physical remnants of Juba's territories. A museum had been founded at Cherchel in Algeria, Juba's Caesarea, as early as 1856, and rudimentary excavations began in 1876.[17] Much of the early explorations were directed toward the physical evidence for early Christianity, but nonetheless this resulted in the discovery of numerous inscriptions that illuminated the world of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene. Although excavations have continued until recent times, physical remnants of the Roman client kingdom continue to be scant and disputed. A similar situation exists at Volubilis in Morocco, the monarchs' western capital, where excavations have continued since 1884, but where most of the visible remains are from the late flourishing of the city, particularly the Severan period.[18]

Nevertheless, the early years of the twentieth century saw an increasing awareness of Juba in both France and Germany. Felix Jacoby published the first detailed study of the king in 1916.[19] Although still within a narrowly historical context, this approached Juba as more than merely a fragmentary

11 Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* 7.23; 9.58; 15.8; Ammianus Marcellius 22.15.8; Lucius Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 38.1.4; Avienus, *Ora maritima* 275–83; Galen 13.271 (Kühn); Harpokration, "Parrhasios," "Polygnotos"; Philostratos, *Life of Apollonios* 2.13, 16; Photios 161.103a, 104b; Quintilian 6.3.90; Tatian, *Oration to the Greeks* 36.

12 *FHG* 3.465–84.

13 In particular, Wenceslaus Plagge, *De Juba II rege Mauretaniae* (Münster, F. Regensburg, 1849); and L. Keller, *De Juba Appiani Cassiique Dionis auctore* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1872).

14 Hermann Peter, *Ueber den Werth der historichen Schriftstellerei von König Juba II von Mauretanien* (*Jahresbericht über die Fürsten- und Landesschule Meissen* 1878–9, pp. 1–14).

15 Maria-Renatus de la Blanchère, *De rege Juba regis Jubae filio* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1883).

16 E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (second edition, London: John Murray, 1883), vol. 2, pp. 174–6.

17 Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 1–3.

18 Jodin, *Volubilis*, pp. 10–12.

19 *RE* 9, 1916, 2384–95.

author. Jacoby's work on the fragments,[20] which appeared in 1940, increased Müller's ninety-one to a more reliable 104, eliminating some of the questionable ones, but still limited itself only to citations in which the name "Juba" occurs. The culmination of the French colonial impact on scholarship was Stéphane Gsell's massive *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, completed in 1928, an exhaustive study in eight volumes that devoted more attention than ever before to Juba, his world, and his ancestors.[21] Although excruciatingly thorough and a necessary reference for any scholar of ancient North Africa, the work is not deeply imaginative and suffers from an inevitable colonialist perspective.[22]

There was little new work on Juba in the years immediately after the Second World War; if he was remembered at all, it was as the son-in-law of Antonius and Kleopatra VII.[23] In recent years, however, a growing awareness of the role of client kingship in the early Empire and evolving postcolonialist views[24] of the fringes of the Roman world have led scholars to the career of Juba II.[25] Yet as recently as 1998 the present author could bemoan the fact that "there is no good recent study of Juba,"[26] and because of a historically lesser interest in the careers of women than those of men, the life of Kleopatra Selene even today remains frustratingly vague.

Transliteration and chronological issues

Transliteration is a vexing problem, especially in the world of Greek, Roman, and indigenous cultures that was the Roman Empire. It becomes difficult to impose a consistency that was itself lacking in antiquity.

20 *FGrHist* #275. It is Jacoby's fragment numbering that is used throughout the present work.

21 See the review of vols. 7–8 (the period after the fall of Carthage) by Jérôme Carcapino, "L'Afrique au dernier siècle de la république romaine," *RHist* 162, 1929, 86–95.

22 On the problems of colonialist interpretations of the history of this region and the attempts to move beyond them, see David J. Mattingly, "From One Colonialism to Another: Imperialism and the Maghreb," in *Roman Imperialism: Post-colonial Perspectives*, ed. Jane Webster and Nicolas J. Cooper, Leicester Archaeological Monographs 3, 1996, pp. 49–69.

23 See, for example, Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, paperback edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 300, 365–6, which, although written before the Second World War, reflects the attitudes in place in the immediate postwar years.

24 A good recent study of the issues of romanization in the postcolonial context of modern scholarship is Greg Woolf, "Beyond Romans and Natives," *WA* 28, 1996–7, 339–50; see also Jane Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," *AJA* 105, 2001, 209–25.

25 For example, the work of David Braund, especially his *Rome and the Friendly King*.

26 Roller, *Herod*, p. 252. Michèle Coltelloni-Trannoy's *Le Royaume de Maurétanie sous Juba II et Ptolémée* (Paris: CNRS, 1997), while a significant addition to Juban studies and the most complete treatment since that of Gsell, is narrowly focused on the king within his kingdom, paying no attention to his impact as scholar and explorer. On other limitations (which do not diminish its value), see the review by Brent D. Shaw, *Gnomon* 72, 2000, 422–5. See also the recent examination of Juba's kingdom by Ramsay MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 42–4, which, although brief, is an incisive and precise summary.

Dependency on extant sources means that the actual form of the personal name used by its owner may be unfamiliar or even unknown. Nonetheless, proper names are generally transliterated directly from Greek or Latin into English except for a few that have common English forms (e.g. Athens, Egypt). "Ptolemy" is used for the geographer but the more accurate "Ptolemaios" for royal personages, and "Alexander" for Alexander the Great but "Alexandros" for all others. The names of the indigenous royalty of North Africa have been presented in their Greek or Latin forms, since often they are known only through classical sources.

Juba's reign began in the second half of the year,[27] so his dated coins refer to a regnal year that, roughly, runs from autumn to autumn: e.g. Year 1 is from autumn 25 to autumn 24 BC and Juba's death in regnal Year 48 occurred between autumn AD 23 and autumn AD 24. For convenience, only the calendar year in effect at the beginning of the regnal year is used herein.

27 Infra, p. 100.

1

JUBA'S NUMIDIAN ANCESTRY

Juba II was descended from a long line of distinguished ancestors who had been involved in Roman politics for nearly two hundred years prior to his accession to the throne of Mauretania. The family tree can be constructed for at least seven generations before Juba,[1] starting with the tribal chieftain Zilalsan, born perhaps around 300 BC.[2] The family was famous and talented, producing a variety of scholars and political and cultural leaders, attached first to Carthaginian interests and then to Roman, with an increasing amount of Hellenism. This impressive ancestry was certainly a factor in Caesar's decision to save young Juba, and that of Augustus to make him king of Mauretania.

Juba's ancestors were kings of Numidia, the territory south and west of Carthage. Originally nomadic herdsmen, by the fourth century BC they became identifiable as a number of tribal groups, which seem to have begun to coalesce into a single ethnic unit late in the following century.[3] This process was said to have been largely due to the efforts of Massinissa, the first of the Numidian kings to appear prominently in the historical record. His grandfather Zilalsan (the first member of the dynasty whose name is known with certainty) held the title of suffete, indicating the Carthaginian

1 One may contrast the Herodians, who cannot be traced beyond the great-grandfather of Herod the Great: see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 109.

2 See Appendix 2. Nevertheless, Juba was the upstart within his immediate family. His wife Kleopatra Selene, and thus their children, could trace their ancestry back to Lagos, the father of the first Ptolemaios, born perhaps around 400 BC, and even further through the Antonii into the fifth century BC.

3 Maria R.-Alföldi, "Die Geschichte des numidisichen Königreiches und seiner Nachfolger," in *Numider*, pp. 43–51. On the early history, see Elizabeth W. B. Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army: Social, Military and Economic Aspects of the Frontier Zone*, BAR-IS 53, 1979, pp. 43–60; François Decret and Mhamed Fantar, *L'Afrique du Nord dans l'antiquité* (Paris: Payot, 1981), pp. 1–67; and Robert Morstein-Marx, "The Myth of Numidian Origins in Sallust's African Excursus (*Iugurtha* 17.7–18.13)," *AJP* 122, 2001, 179–200.

influence existing by the early third century BC.[4] His son, Gaia or Gala, was the first to carry the title "king," but presumably was king only of his tribal group, the Maesyli.[5] Gaia came to Roman notice during the Second Punic War because he opposed another Numidian chieftain, Syphax, who had revolted from the Carthaginians and sided with Rome, a crucial event of the latter years of the war.[6] For the first time, the Romans began to incorporate the Numidian tribes into their strategic designs against Carthage. Gaia's son Massinissa, who turned 20 the year the war began, fought at the side of his father for Carthage and against Syphax and Rome.

Gaia died in Spain near the end of the war,[7] but Massinissa did not inherit the kingship because custom caused it to revert to his uncle Oezalces, brother-in-law of the famous Hannibal. Oezalces died shortly thereafter and was succeeded by his son Capussa, who was promptly killed by a relative, Mazaetullus, who had married Oezalces' widow and thus had acquired the status appropriate for the brother-in-law of Hannibal. This Numidian civil war now involved three tribal groups, those of Syphax, the brothers Gaia and Oezalces, and Mazaetullus. Moreover, Roman and Carthaginian interests were already polarizing in their support of these families. The way was clear for the rise of Massinissa.

Massinissa was the most famous and notable of the ancestors of Juba II, his great-great-great-grandfather.[8] During his long reign, which extended from the Second Punic War into the Third, he prospered despite being caught between Rome and Carthage, eventually siding with the former and playing a decisive role in the destruction of the latter. Learned and erudite, he presided over a court that attracted both Greeks and Romans, and thus became one of the best early examples of the king allied to Rome and an ideal role model for his descendant.

4 On the predecessors of Massinissa, see J.-B. Chabot, *Recueil des inscriptions libyques* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1940), #2, a bilingual (Libyan and Punic) inscription from Thugga recording the erection of a temple to Massinissa in the tenth year of his son Micipsa (139 BC); Fentress (supra note 3), pp. 50–2; Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 107; Gabriel Camps, *Massinissa* (*LibAE* 8.1, 1960), pp. 159–83; P. G. Walsh, "Massinissa," *JRS* 55, 1965, 150. Zilalsan may have been a descendant – perhaps grandson – of Ailymas, "king of Libya," an ally of Agathokles of Syracuse (Diodoros 20.17–18). See Gabriel Camps, "Origines du royaume massyle," *RHCM* 3, July 1967, 32–3.

5 The name is Gala in Greco-Roman sources, but the Thugga inscription (Chabot, supra note 4) has GII, indicating that "Gaia" may be a better transliteration. See also F. Stähelin, "Gaia" (#4), *RE Supp.* 3, 1918, 534–8; Gsell, vol. 3, pp. 177–83. Livy (27.19.9) called him "rex Numidarum," but this seems anachronistic.

6 John Briscoe, "The Second Punic War," *CAH*^{2} 8, 1989, 57–9. The wide and complex issues of the Second Punic War are not the primary concern here. On this, see, most recently, B. D. Hoyos, *Unplanned Wars: The Origins of the First and Second Punic Wars*, Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 50 (Berlin 1998).

7 Livy 29.29.6; Gsell, vol. 3, p. 189.

8 The ancient sources are primarily Polybios 14, Livy 25–42, and Appian, *Libyka*. For modern sources, see Camps, *LibAE* (supra note 4); Walsh (supra note 4), pp. 149–60; W. Schur, "Massinissa," *RE* 14, 1930, 2154–65; Gsell, vol. 3, pp. 189–364 (*passim*); R.-Alföldi (supra note 3), pp. 51–7, and the recent study by Elfrieda Storm, *Massinissa: Numidien in Aufbruch* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001).

Figure 1 The Numidian marble quarries at Chemtou (Tunisia). Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

The career of Massinissa was lengthy and complex. He was educated at Carthage and became a protégé of the great Carthaginian leader Hasdrubal.[9] His youth and early maturity coincided with the Second Punic War and the internal power struggles within Numidia. He first fought for Carthage, his operations ranging far west to Tingis, disrupting the supplies from Syphax to the Romans, and eventually crossing to Spain and opposing the Scipio brothers: it was his cavalry that killed P. Cornelius Scipio the elder in 211 BC.[10] But a few years later, when the fortunes of war began to turn in favor of Rome, Massinissa realized that Rome might be of use to him in asserting his position within Numidia. He sought out M. Junius Silanus, one of the Roman commanders[11] – the details of the interview were not preserved by Livy but apparently the result was that he joined the Roman side and then returned to Africa in order to bolster support among his countrymen for his change of allegiance. This was a wise move, since both Syphax

9 Appian, *Libyka* 10, 37.

10 Livy 24.49, 4–6; 25.34; Briscoe (supra note 6), pp. 56–61.

11 Livy 28.16.11–13. He was propraetor in Spain in 210–206 BC (Broughton, vol. 2, p. 577; F. Münzer, "M. Iunius Silanus" (#167), *RE* 10, 1917, 1092–3. This family may have been traditionally sympathetic toward the indigenous populations of North Africa, since sixty-five years later one Decimus [Junius] Silanus was considered the outstanding contemporary scholar of the Punic language and was given the task of translating Mago's treatise on agriculture (*NH* 18.22–3). He is otherwise unknown (Broughton, vol. 2, p. 577), unless he is mentioned by Cicero, *De finibus* 1.24; see also F. Münzer, "D. (Iunius) Silanus" (#160), *RE* 10, 1917, 1088–9.

and Mazaetullus had reverted to the Carthaginians.[12] With Carthage and most of Numidia against him, Massinissa's prospects were not good, and although initially successful he was eventually wounded and had to hide out in the mountains and await the Romans. Eventually, in 204 BC, the Romans under P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus landed in Africa and soon engaged the Carthaginians. Massinissa's cavalry was decisive in the battle and he was said to have personally captured Syphax.[13] He also eliminated the other claimant to Numidian power, Mazaetullus, so his victory over his countrymen was complete.[14] Thus with Roman support Massinissa was able to claim the kingship of Numidia. Scipio formally addressed him as king and gave him insignia of office, telling him that he was the foreigner most respected by Rome;[15] the Senate confirmed the title and gave him additional honors and gifts.[16]

It is probable that few foreigners had ever been so well treated by Rome. Massinissa was to rule as king of Numidia for the next fifty-five years, skillfully balancing his interests, precarious because he was geographically adjacent to Carthage but a client of Rome. He became famous for exploiting the agricultural bounty of his kingdom,[17] which led to exports to Rome and the Greek world. He was probably the first Numidian to hellenize his court,[18] which became a center of culture: among the visitors were the historian

12 Livy 29.23–32; see also Appian, *Iberika* 37; L. A. Thompson, "Carthage and the Massylian *Coup d'État* of 206 BC," *Historia* 30, 1981, 120–6. Massinissa also solicited aid from Baga, king of the Mauri: this is the earliest reference (in terms of context) to Mauretania in Roman literature. On Baga, see infra, p. 46.

13 Livy 29.34; Polybios 14.3–8; Appian, *Libyka* 26. Syphax was sent into exile in Italy, and died two years later at Tibur or Alba, receiving a state funeral (Livy 30.45.4–5; Zonaras 9.23 [from Dio 17]). His son Vermina, who had been in Italy with his father, seems to have been restored to his father's territory and thus ruled on terms agreeable to Rome as petty king over a small district, but nothing is known about him after the Second Punic War and it is probable that he did not survive long (Livy 31.19.4–6; Zonaras 9.13 [from Dio 17]; Mazard #13–16).

14 Livy 29.30.10–13. The personal combat between Massinissa and Hannibal recorded by Zonaras (9.14, from Dio 17) is probably apocryphal.

15 Livy 30.15.9–14. He seems to have begun his regnal years sometime in 205 BC: see Werner Huss, "Die Datierung nach numidischen Königsjahren," *AntAfr* 26, 1990, 39–42. On some of the problems with the veracity of Scipio's addressing Massinissa as king, see E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae (264–70 B.C.)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), pp. 125–6, 295.

16 Livy 30.17.7–14; Appian, *Libyka* 32. On this as one of the first instances of the Roman process for recognition of the client king, of which Massinissa was an outstanding early example, see Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 24; see also Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, first paperback printing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 159–64, for some of the difficulties with this view.

17 *IDélos* 442a, line 101; Polybios 36.16; Appian, *Libyka* 106; Strabo 17.3.15; Jehan Desanges, "L'Afrique romaine et libyco-berbère," in *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen, 264–27 avant J.-C.*, ed. Claude Nicolet, *Nouvelle Clio* 8bis (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), pp. 651–2; Walsh (supra note 4), pp. 152–6 (who diminished the extent of the Numidian agricultural wealth).

Polybios and King Ptolemaios VIII, who was impressed with its Greco-Roman character.[19] Massinissa's coinage shows Greek qualities in the bearded bust of the king, with royal diadem, and includes the elephant, an early numismatic representation of this ubiquitous symbol of North African royalty.[20] It was perhaps also Massinissa who began to exploit the Numidian marble that was soon to be exported to Rome,[21] and to build in Hellenistic fashion, especially the monumental funerary architecture still conspicuous today.[22] He involved himself in the politics of the eastern Mediterranean, assisting Rome in the Makedonian Wars, and eventually sending his son Misagetes with a substantial force and supplies to Greece.[23] Later he shipped grain to Delos and was honored by that island,[24] and was on friendly terms with eastern royalty, especially Nikomedes II of Bithynia.[25] His sons were sent to Greece, probably Athens, to be educated.[26]

Meanwhile, in order to insure his own survival at home, he initiated a

Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 143.

Polybios 9.25; Ptolemaios VIII (*FGrHist* #234) fr. 7–8. The contacts between Ptolemaios VIII and Massinissa are discussed by Tadeusz Kotula, "Orientalia Africana. Réflexions sur les contacts Afrique du Nord romaine – Orient hellénistique," *FolOr* 24, 1987, 120–1.

Mazard #17; Hans R. Baldus, "Die Münzprägung der Numidischen Königreiche," in *Numider*, pp. 191–4.

The marble, yellow with red veins and known today as *giallo antico*, came from the vicinity of Simitthus (modern Chemtou) in the upper Bagradas (modern Mejerda) valley, in what is now northwestern Tunisia, where quarries and workshops are still visible in an impressive setting (Figure 1, p. 12). See Heinz Günter Horn, "Die antiken Steinbrüche von Chemtou/Simitthus," in *Numider*, pp. 173–80; Mustapha Khanoussi, "Les *officiales marmorum numidicorum*," *AfrRom* 12, 1998, 997–8. It was first exported to Egypt and Greece and then to Rome, one of the earliest foreign stones to arrive in the city, where it was used in the Temple of Concord and Forum of Augustus, among other structures. See *NH* 36.49; Hazel Dodge, "Decorative Stones for Architecture in the Roman Empire," *OJA* 7, 1988, 66; *Marble in Antiquity: Collected Papers of J. B. Ward-Perkins*, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 6, ed. Hazel Dodge and Bryan Ward-Perkins (1992), pp. 15, 24, 116, 157.

, p. 150.

Livy 36.15.8, 42.29.8–9, 43.6.11–14, 45.13.12–17. On the problems and paradoxes this created, Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 184.

II 1115 (= *SIG*[3] 652), 1116; *IDélos* 442A, 100–6; 1577[bis]. The Delians may have commissioned the noted local sculptor Polianthes to erect a statue of the king. On the grain shipments, an attempt to create an eastern market due to the decline of those in Italy, see Lionel , *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), pp. 76–7; Philippe , "Sur le don de grain numide à Délos: un pseudo-Rhodien dans les comptes de hiéropes," *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque: Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie tenu à Neuchâtel du au 20 septembre 1986 en l'honneur de Jacques Tréheux*, ed. Denis Knoepfler (Neuchâtel: Faculté des , Université de Neuchâtel, 1986), pp. 61–9. A delegation to Delos in the 170s BC may have led by Massinissa's son Gulussa: see Marie-Françoise Baslez, "Un Monument de la famille de Numidie à Délos," *RÉG* 94, 1981, 160–5.

1577; Arnaldo Momigliano, "I regni indigeni dell'Africa Romana (1)," in *Africa Romana* Hoepli, 1935), pp. 94–5.

Livy, *Epitome* 50, *IG* 2[2].2316.41–4.

series of territorial disputes with Carthage.[27] A continuing series of confrontations ensued, warily watched by Rome, that lasted until the outbreak of the Third Punic War.[28] In 151 BC the Carthaginians invaded Numidia (a violation of the terms of the end of the Second Punic War), and Massinissa, who was now 87, decisively defeated them, leading his forces personally on horseback.[29] This Carthaginian incursion gave Rome the pretext for war, something probably already decided, but the Roman government was ambivalent about what role the elderly monarch should play. Eventually, in 148 BC, it was decided that he could be of use to Rome, but the envoys found him dead at the age of 90.[30]

When his great-great-great-grandson Juba II arrived in Rome a century later, Massinissa's legend was well established.[31] Contemporary Romans were fascinated with the tale of the witty and cultured barbarian king, who had lived so long and fathered the last of his forty-four sons at 86, and was noted for such ability and strength in extreme old age.[32] He had been so impressed with Rome that he became its greatest friend, evolving, in the best barbarian tradition, from hostility to alliance.[33] Particularly romantic, although doubtless elaborated, was the story of his relationship with Sophoniba, the elegant daughter of his mentor Hasdrubal. Sophoniba was

27 Livy 34.61.16, 42.23; Appian, *Libyka* 67–70. For the legality of Massinissa's actions, see Polybios 15.18.5. See further, Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 22–42; Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 61–79; W. V. Harris, "Roman Expansion in the West," *CAH*^{2} 8, 1989, 144–6. Rome may have hoped that Massinissa and Carthage would weaken each other (I. M. Barton, *Africa in the Roman Empire* [Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1972], pp. 16–17), or even have feared that Numidia would conquer Carthage if Rome did not act (F. E. Adcock, "Delenda est Carthago," *CHJ* 8.3, 1946, 118–19).

28 The extent to which Massinissa was the catalyst in Rome's decision to make another war against Carthage has long been debated, and it is probably best to assume that the Roman concern about Massinissa's activities was merely one of many contributing factors. See Walsh (supra note 4); Harris (supra note 27), pp. 149–57; Gruen (supra note 16), pp. 130–1. But the king, because he retained Carthaginian contacts, became an important source about internal Carthaginian affairs for the Romans (Livy 41.22.1).

29 Polybios 36.16; Livy, *Epitome* 48; Appian, *Libyka* 70–2.

30 Appian, *Libyka* 105–6; also Polybios 36.16; Livy, *Epitome* 48 (which recorded that the king lived to 92); Valerius Maximus 5.2.Ext4; see also *OxyPap* 4, 1904, p. 668, lines 118–22. On Massinissa's last days, see F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957–79), vol. 3, pp. 675–8; G. M. Paul, *A Historical Commentary on Sallust's "Bellum Jugurthinum"* [Liverpool 1984] pp. 26–8.

31 See Diodoros 32.16, which, although adapted from Polybios 36.16, recorded the attitude toward the king in Juba's Rome. Another contemporary portrait is that of Cicero (*Republic* 6.9), who described the great desire of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus to meet him: "nothing was more important to me than to meet Massinissa, who was most friendly with our family, for justifiable reasons. When I came to him, the old man embraced me and wept before me." ("nihil mihi fuit potius, quam ut Masinissam convenirem regem, familiae nostrae iustis de causis amicissimum. Ad quem ut veni, conplexus me senex conlacrimavit"). It was after his inspiring conversation with Massinissa that Scipio had his famous dream. Livy was equally eulogistic: see, for example, 37.53.20–2.

32 An example of his wit was preserved by Ptolemaios VIII in his *Hypomnemata* (*FGrHist* #234, fr. 8 = Athenaios 12.518–19). The citation of 44 sons is from Livy, *Epitome* 50, but the text is unclear.

33 Livy 28.35.8–11, 31.11, 37.53.21–2; see also, somewhat later, Silius Italicus 16.115–17.

the wife of his enemy Syphax, but Massinissa became enamored with her and sent her poison so that she would not be captured alive by the Romans – an episode as much from tragedy as history.[34] Massinissa was a role model for Juba to adopt: the ancestor who embodied all the best qualities of barbarian integrity, Greco-Roman culture, and political astuteness, strongly attached to a particular Roman family, turning from enemy to friend, spending his life balancing the needs of his territory with those of Rome.[35]

Upon his death, Massinissa left his kingdom to three of his sons and made P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus the executor of his will,[36] one of the earliest known cases of a royal inheritance involving Rome.[37] Scipio had met the king's heirs and was the adopted grandson of his patron Scipio Africanus. The will, whether oral or written, was executed in perilous times, during the middle of the Third Punic War, in the context of long-standing Carthaginian–Numidian animosity, when the Carthaginians might have been expected to meddle in the succession. Scipio, well known in Numidia and prestigious in Rome, was an obvious choice to supervise this touchy issue. How much the eventual settlement was the work of Scipio and how much was the testament of Massinissa is not certain: Appian, the primary source, is ambiguous, stating only that the sons were to obey (πείθεσθαι) Scipio.[38]

34 The main source is Livy 30.12–15; see also Appian, *Libyka* 10, 27–8; Diodoros 27.7; Zonaras 9.11–13 (from Dio 17); U. Kahrstedt, "Sophoniba," *RE* 2, ser. 3, 1927, 1099–100; T. A. Dorey, "Masinissa, Syphax, and Sophoniba," *PACA* 4, 1961, 1–2; R.-Alföldi (supra note 3), pp. 48–50. On whether Juba discussed this tale, see infra, p. 181. Certain of the elements – especially in Appian's version – seem the details of a tragedy: the encounter between Massinissa and Sophoniba when he brings the poison and tells her either to drink it or be captured, Sophoniba's speech to the nurse before she takes the poison, Massinissa's showing of the body to the Romans, Scipio's final speech to Massinissa, the ironies of a possible former relationship between Massinissa and Sophoniba, and Syphax's subsequent death. The tale also became common in art: see German Hafner, "Das Bildnis des Massinissa," *AA* 1970, pp. 418–20; Karl Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1957), pp. 46, 219; G. Bermond Montanari, "Sofonisba," *EAA* 7, 1966, 398–90, figure 489 (a painting from Pompeii showing her taking the poison); *Numider*, pl. 56.

35 Strabo (17.3.9) specifically connected Massinissa and Juba, probably influenced in this comparison by Juba himself, who was acutely aware of his descent from the great king (*CIL* 2.3417 [=*ILS* 840]).

36 Appian, *Libyka* 105–7; Zonaras 9.27 (from Dio 21). Scipio had met Massinissa either in 151 BC when on an elephant-gathering expedition (Appian, *Libyka* 71), or perhaps two years later (Cicero, *Republic* 6.9), and thus was acquainted with his sons, who were to be the heirs.

37 It had been only seven years since the earliest, that of Massinissa's associate Ptolemaios VIII of Egypt, written in 155 BC when he was king of Kyrene (*SEG* 9.7). Although this will was never implemented, because the circumstances under which it was written were no longer in force when the king died nearly forty years later, Ptolemaios may have suggested to Massinissa that Roman supervision of his inheritance was a good idea. See infra, Appendix 3; Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 129–30. Whether Massinissa had a written will, or just made an oral statement of intent, is not clear.

38 Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 138–9; Charles Saumagne, *La Numidie et Rome: Massinissa et Jugurtha* (Paris 1966), pp. 100–4; see further, Badian (supra note 15), pp. 137–8. Yet emphasis on the legalities of succession can be futile, as often the rules are of no importance; this was to be demonstrated only a generation later with Jugurtha. For the whole issue of succession to ruling power, see the volume *Succession to High Office*, ed. Jack Goody, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology 4, 1966, especially pp. 1–56.

Scipio's decision – whether or not suggested by Massinissa – was to create a regal triumvirate of Massinissa's three oldest sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal.[39] Yet this three-way rule did not last long, for Gulussa and Mastanabal promptly vanish from the historical record, probably dying soon after their father. Mastanabal is worthy of further note because he was the great-great-grandfather of Juba II, but little is known about him other than that he was educated in Greece and victorious in the Panathenaia in 158 BC.[40] Even his status as the father of the famous Jugurtha[41] did not lead to much comment about his career, and he probably died before his son reached maturity.

Nevertheless, it would be nearly thirty years after Massinissa's death before the Numidian royal line reverted to a direct ancestor of Juba: Micipsa's brothers seem to have left him sole ruler by no later than 139 BC.[42] He survived for another twenty years in control of a territory whose political realities had changed substantially from his father's day. Carthage was no longer an independent state, and, for the time being, no longer a great city, having been burned and destroyed in an event that was compared to the Sack of Troy. Scipio Aemilianus is said to have wept at the destruction and to have told Polybios that Rome would eventually meet the same fate.[43] The Carthaginian territory became the new Roman province of Africa, although the Numidian kings also acquired a substantial portion of it.[44] The material culture of Carthage was dispersed if not destroyed: of particular note was the state library, which was given to Micipsa and his brothers.[45] Carthage being unfit for human habitation, a Roman praetor took up residence at Utica, which had supported Rome in the last stages of the war and was to become the center of romanization in the region.[46]

Little is known about the thirty years of Micipsa's kingship. The oldest surviving son of Massinissa, he adopted his 4-year-old brother Sthembanon, and, it seems, the sons of Gulussa and Mastanabal, including Jugurtha.[47] He

39 On the reasons for Scipio's decision, and its possible basis in Greek political theory, see Hervé Trofimoff, "Une préfiguration de la séparation des pouvoirs: le testament de Masinissa," *RIDA* 3rd ser. 35, 1988, 364–84.

40 Diodoros 34/35.35; Livy, *Epitome* 50; *IG* 2^2.2316.41–4. See Stephen V. Tracy and Christian Habicht, "New and Old Panathenaic Victor Lists," *Hesperia* 60, 1991, 232. His father may have commemorated this victory (or another) by commissioning at Kyrene the famous bronze "Berber Head" now in the British Museum (BM Bronze 268): see Duane W. Roller, "A Note on the Berber Head in London," *JHS* 122, 2002, 144–6.

41 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 5.

42 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 5; Chabot (supra note 4) #2; on Micipsa, see F. Schur, "Micipsa," *RE* 15, 1932, 1522–4.

43 Appian, *Libyka* 127–32, supplemented by Diodoros 32.24, probably both from Polybios 38. See also Walbank (supra note 30), vol. 3, pp. 722–5.

44 Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 43–5.

45 *NH* 18.22–3.

46 Polybios 36.3; Appian, *Libyka* 75.

47 Zonaras 9.27 (from Dio 21); Polybios 36.16; Sallust, *Jugurtha* 5.

further developed his father's capital of Cirta, settling a number of Greeks there[48] and making it a cosmopolitan center that had enough manpower to produce 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry.[49] He may also have begun to favor Iol as a royal city.[50] His Greek education, the Greek settlement at Cirta, and his inheritance of the Carthaginian library (his brothers' portions would have come to him) continued his father's Hellenism, and indeed it was said that he was the most cultured of the Numidian kings and brought many Greeks to his court, becoming a student of philosophy.[51] Hellenistic-style mausolea continued to be built throughout the territory, a further commitment to Greek culture.[52] Micipsa also sponsored the building of a temple to his father in 139 BC at Thugga.[53] He had served his father both diplomatically and militarily during the Third Punic War,[54] and further refined these skills in thirty years of serving Roman interests and protecting his own. He followed the tradition of his father in supplying elephants and horses to Rome, especially to commanders in Spain.[55] When he was supporting the Romans in the Numantine War, which was being prosecuted by his patron Scipio Aemilianus, he seems to have acquired the friendship of Scipio's young relative C. Sempronius Gracchus, and in 126 BC, when Gracchus was quaestor on Sardinia, Micipsa sent a shipment of grain to the island and envoys to Rome announcing his gift. Gracchus, however, was already demonstrating the populism that would soon result in his death, and the envoys were rebuffed by the Senate, a cautionary episode for client kings who might seem to be meddling in Roman internal politics.[56] Regardless of the disposition of the grain, the shipment demonstrates that Micipsa further exploited and developed the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom he had inherited, helped, of course, by his acquisition of substantial amounts of

48 Strabo 17.3.13. There is no explicit evidence as to where these Greeks came from. There would have been a Greek population in Carthage – it had a Pythagorean school in its last years that seems to have had a Greek clientele (Iamblichos 128, 267) – and Greeks were also displaced by the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. Moreover, the philosopher Kleitomachos, who became head of the Academy in Athens in the 120s BC, was Carthaginian. Originally named Hasdrubal, he went to Athens in the 160s BC to study with Karneades (Diogenes Laertios 4.67). Such an interest presumes the availability of Greek learning at Carthage. Within thirty years Cirta also had an Italian population, probably mercantile (Sallust, *Jugurtha* 21, 26). On Greek culture at Carthage, see Walter Thieling, *Der Hellenismus in Kleinafrika* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), pp. 152–3.

49 Appian, *Libyka* 106; Strabo 17.3.13.

50 Leveau, *Caesarea*, p. 11.

51 Diodoros 34/35.35.

52 Friedrich Rakob, "Architecture royale numide," CÉFR 66, 1983, 335–6. These may include Micipsa's own tomb but the evidence is so ambivalent as to make certainty impossible: see J.-G. Février, "L'Inscription funéraire de Micipsa," *RAssyr* 45, 1951, 139–50.

53 Chabot (supra note 4) #2.

54 Appian, *Libyka* 70, 111.

55 Appian, *Iberika* 67; Sallust, *Jugurtha* 7.

56 Plutarch, *C. Gracchus* 2.3; Badian (supra note 15), 181. It may have been Gracchus' association with Micipsa and thus his interest in African matters that led to his abortive attempt to refound Carthage (Appian, *Libyka* 136; *Civil War* 1.24; Plutarch, *C. Gracchus* 11; see Desanges [supra note 17], p. 630).

Carthaginian territory. Nothing further is known about him until his death, which occurred in 118 BC.[57] He too adopted the triumviral method of inheritance, leaving the kingdom to his two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal (I), and, unfortunately for them, to his nephew and adopted son Jugurtha.

The career of Jugurtha and the Roman war against him are well known. The sharply focused character study by C. Sallustius Crispus, written perhaps seventy years after Jugurtha's death, not only hastened the loss of the more traditional historical analyses by Livy, Dio, and Appian,[58] but created a portrait of Jugurtha formed by Sallust's own era, the collapse of the Republic, when he had served in Africa as Caesar's appointee. Sallust made his emphasis clear in the early chapters of his *Jugurtha*, outlining what was perhaps his primary reason for writing: "This conflict totally mixed up human and divine matters and advanced to such a frenzy that political intensity resulted in war and the desolation of Italy."[59] This chaos and destruction was a world Sallust knew well, as he was one of the players: a protégé of Caesar who was constantly in ethical and legal troubles, especially as a result of his actions as the first Roman governor of the provincialized former Numidian kingdom. He was eventually prosecuted and forced into retirement, leading him to seek (as he himself wrote) the higher goal of becoming a historian,[60] his researches being aided by the former Carthaginian state library, which had passed from the Numidian kings into his hands. Yet the result was a peculiar depiction of Jugurtha less as a Numidian nationalist than as an instigator of the fall of the Republic.[61]

Because of Sallust, the career of Jugurtha is known in great detail.[62] Sallust emphasized his physical and intellectual prowess as a young man, which first impressed his uncle Micipsa but eventually led him to worry

57 Livy, *Epitome* 62.

58 Polybios, if he dealt with Jugurtha at all, would have been familiar only with his youth and perhaps his accession in 118 BC, which is the year of the last datable event in his writings. See F. W. Walbank, *Polybius*, first paperback printing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 12–13.

59 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 5: "Quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit eoque vecordiae processit, ut studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret."

60 Sallust, *Catiline* 4; *Jugurtha* 4; on Sallust's career, see Ronald Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 29–42.

61 On Jugurtha's effect on Roman internal politics, see Badian (supra note 15), pp. 192–4, and Andrew Lintott, "Political History, 145–96 BC," *CAH*^{2} 9, 1994, 88–95.

62 The scant other sources are Plutarch's biographies of Marius and Sulla; Livy, *Epitome* 62–7; Velleius 2.11, and the brief extant fragments of Appian's *Noumidika*. A recent summary is Andrew Lintott, "The Roman Empire and Its Problems in the Late Second Century," *CAH*^{2} 9, 1994, 27–31; see also Fentress (supra note 3), pp. 61–4, and Syme (supra note 60), pp. 138–56 (on the strategy of the war); Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 72–88; Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 91–119; Saumagne (supra note 38), pp. 183–235; Domenico Siciliani, "La guerra giugurtina," *Africa Romana* (Milan: Hoepli, 1935), pp. 51–82; Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 123–265; Paul (supra note 30); Th. Lenschau, "Iugurtha," *RE* 10, 1917, 1–6; R.-Alföldi (supra note 3), pp. 59–63.

about his ambition and potential as a rival.[63] Micipsa thus decided to place Jugurtha in command of a Numidian contingent sent to aid the Romans in the Numantine War, allegedly hoping that he would be killed. But he had underestimated his nephew, who caught the notice of the family patron, Scipio Aemilianus, who made him part of his entourage. Scipio educated Jugurtha in Roman ways and customs, and after the war sent him home with a most enthusiastic letter of recommendation. This evidently encouraged Micipsa – his worries seemingly forgotten – to adopt him as joint heir with his own sons Adherbal and Hiempsal (I) and to leave an oral testament in which Jugurtha was put forth as the primary heir, not only because of his ability but because he was older than Micipsa's sons, who were enjoined to defer to Jugurtha's superior wisdom and virtue.[64]

This arrangement was an obvious prescription for disaster, and it is interesting that there is no evidence of Roman supervision of the will.[65] Micipsa was allegedly out of his mind when he died in 118 BC, and the two Romans most acquainted with the family, Scipio Aemilianus and C. Gracchus, were already dead; the civil strife that had led to their deaths may have discouraged the Numidians from involving Rome in the succession. There appears to have been enduring animosity among the three heirs. Jugurtha was sensitive about the low status of his mother, and felt that his grandfather had slighted him because of this. The sons of Micipsa lost no opportunity to point this out. Because Jugurtha was the oldest, these insults were acutely felt, especially when the issue erupted at the first meeting of the three after Micipsa's death. This council degenerated into bickering with no agreement as to how to divide the kingdom. Before long, Jugurtha had Hiempsal murdered and civil war erupted between the two survivors.[66] Adherbal soon fled to Rome.[67] Jugurtha sent his own contingent to the city, loaded with presents to be used in lavish bribery of a number of senators, demonstrating the power barbarian kings could wield by spreading their wealth through relatively impoverished Rome.[68] Both were invited to address the Senate. Adherbal invoked his position as a grandson of Massinissa and the inheritor of his friendship and alliance with Rome, emphasizing Jugurtha's generally violent and evil character, which had resulted in the murder of Adherbal's brother. Although Sallust's account is anachronistic and chauvinistic in many ways, as presented it is a powerful summary of the relationship

63 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 6. On the difficulties with Micipsa's analysis of Jugurtha as a threat, see Paul (supra note 30) 29.

64 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 7–10.

65 It has been assumed that the otherwise undocumented African command of M. Porcius Cato (consul in 118 BC), recorded by Aulus Gellius (13.20.9–10) but not recognized by Broughton, was to deal with the Numidian succession. See Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 21, 142; Paul (supra note 30), pp. 46–7.

66 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 11–12.

67 Adherbal may have been in Rome previously: see Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 23; *De viris illustribus* 66.

68 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 13–15; Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 58–9.

between Rome and client kingdoms.[69] Jugurtha's response was brief – although he drew attention to his service at Numantia – for he believed that his bribery was a more powerful weapon.[70] An intense senatorial debate resulted in the sending of a commission to Numidia led by L. Opimius (consul in 121 BC), who had been implicated in the murder of C. Gracchus and thus would have been expected to be ill-disposed toward Jugurtha. But upon his arrival Opimius was well entertained and bribed, and for this reason, Sallust suggested, the commission reported favorably on Jugurtha's claim and divided the kingdom in such a way that he received the better portions.[71]

Although Rome believed that it had settled the dispute, Jugurtha still coveted Adherbal's part of the kingdom, and attacked it in 112 BC. Adherbal asked Rome for help and withdrew to Cirta, where he enlisted the aid of the resident Roman population.[72] Another Roman commission arrived in Numidia and spoke to Jugurtha but was not allowed to approach Adherbal, now besieged in Cirta, who nonetheless managed to send a further message to Rome that resulted in a third but ineffective Roman commission. The siege of Cirta was not lifted, and the Romans in the city urged surrender. Adherbal did surrender, only to be promptly tortured to death; the Romans and many others in the city were also killed.[73]

69 But see Gruen (supra note 16), pp. 159–60.

70 This may be when Jugurtha uttered his famous aphorism that anything could be bought in Rome if the price were right (Sallust, *Jugurtha* 20): Appian (*Noumidika*) and Livy (*Epitome* 64) placed this after his second visit to Rome. For a view that diminished the role of bribery, see Walter Allen, Jr., "The Source of Jugurtha's Influence in the Roman Senate," *CP* 33, 1938, pp. 90–2. Allen noted that "a barbarian king would naturally send many gifts with his embassies, and to his old friends in particular," which makes the bribery more perceptual than real. See also Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, "Jugurthine Disorder," in *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts*, ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), pp. 231–2.

71 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 16. It must be kept in mind that the bribery does not necessarily mean that the senators acted differently from the way they might have otherwise (see Lintott, "The Roman Empire" [supra note 62], pp. 30–1), and that the membership of the commission was a result of internal politics at Rome, especially the ascendancy of those opposed to C. Gracchus, and only secondarily concerned with issues in Africa (see D. C. Earl, "Sallust and the Senate's Numidian Policy," *Latomus* 24, 1965, 532–6).

72 The existence of this Italian colony at Cirta, certainly mercantile, demonstrates that much of Rome's involvement in Numidian politics at this time was not of territorial but of commercial interest: the merchants and traders at Cirta must have made long and loud complaints to Rome about their inability to do business in Numidia. See also Lintott, "The Roman Empire" (supra note 62), pp. 30–1; Leo Teutsch, *Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit vom C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 5–6; Paul (supra note 30), p. 86.

73 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 20–6; Livy, *Epitome* 64. The extent of this "massacre" has long been debated, and it should be noted that Sallust was explicit in recording that the *negotiatores* who were killed had taken up arms against Jugurtha. Regardless, the reports that came to Rome assisted in serving as a pretext for war. See R. Morstein-Marx, "The Alleged 'Massacre' at Cirta and Its Consequences (Sallust *Bellum Iugurthinum* 26–27)," *CP* 95, 2000, 468–77.

Needless to say, there was outrage in Rome. Jugurtha felt that bribery would settle the issue and sent ambassadors to the city, but they were told to go home and only return with the king. Meanwhile, Roman forces had moved into Numidia and attacked. Jugurtha seems to have been successful in bribing the Roman commanders into an armistice, but it was repudiated in Rome. He was finally persuaded to come to the city, but refused to reply to the charges against him, although he was able to bring about the murder of his cousin and potential rival Massiva, son of Gulussa, who was resident in Rome. Jugurtha was then ordered to leave Italy, and even though ambivalence persisted in Rome, full-scale war soon resulted.[74]

The details of the Jugurthine War need not be recounted here.[75] It continued for seven years, mostly inconclusively, with a series of Roman commanders promising quick victory and failing to deliver. Jugurtha had learned well his lessons in Spain and was quite capable in Roman tactics, even able to organize the primitive Gaetulians in Roman fashion.[76] The last Roman commander was C. Marius, whose career had been steadily advancing since distinguished service in Numantia. He went to Numidia in 109 BC as aide to Q. Caecilius Metellus (consul in 109 BC), but they soon quarreled, and Marius returned to Rome and was elected consul for 107 BC, forcing through legislation that would give him superior command, although he was no more effective than his predecessors. But Jugurtha's in-law Bocchus I of Mauretania, playing a careful double game, eventually tilted toward Rome and turned Jugurtha over to Marius' quaestor L. Cornelius Sulla.[77] Jugurtha was brought to Rome and appeared in Marius' triumph on 1 January 105 BC, led before the imperial chariot in chains with his two sons. Within a week he was dead, either by suicide or by execution. His sons remained in Italy: the kingship of Numidia passed to his brother Gauda.[78]

As Massinissa had become a paradigm for the ideal barbarian king, his grandson Jugurtha became the opposite model.[79] He was the barbarian who

74 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 27–35.

75 See Sallust, *Jugurtha* 43–114; Livy, *Epitome* 64–7; Plutarch, *Marius* 7–12, *Sulla* 3; Appian, *Noumidika*; Syme (supra note 60), pp. 138–77.

76 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 80.

77 Infra, pp. 48–9.

78 Rome would hardly have wanted a son of Jugurtha to return to the Numidian throne, and thus probably confirmed Gauda as king while keeping Jugurtha's sons in Italy. Gsell's argument (vol. 7, p. 263) that Gauda may never have been king is questionable. A son of Jugurtha named Oxynta or Oxyntas was living under guard at Venusia fifteen years later: an attempt to use him during the Social War to inspire the Numidians in the army of Sextus Caesar backfired badly (Appian, *Civil War* 1.42; Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 261–2; Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 119–20).

79 The name Jugurtha, however, was in vogue in later imperial times, as his memory became idealized (see Elizabeth W. B. Fentress, "Caesarean Reflections," *Opus* 3, 1984, 488, and *CIL* 8.17909). Moreover, Jugurtha also became a modern paradigm for African liberation movements against the European colonial powers: see Jo-Marie Claassen, "Sallust's Jugurtha – Rebel or Freedom Fighter? On Crossing Crocodile-Infested Waters," *CW* 86, 1992–3, 273–97.

did not recognize the importance of good relations with Rome (in contrast to his betrayer, Bocchus of Mauretania), who killed off his rivals and involved Rome in a horrible and fruitless war that resulted in no obvious benefits. It was necessary for the power of Rome totally to crush Jugurtha – at great cost – and Jugurtha died miserable in a Roman prison. This war, it was believed, began a cascading series of destabilizing events that was still in process several generations later. The two Romans who were instrumental in capturing Jugurtha, Marius and Sulla, would come to strenuous disagreement over who was really responsible for ending the war, and this quarrel would have ominous implications for the Republic. One can be certain that Jugurtha's great-great-nephew Juba II – an intimate of the family of Sallust – was as aware of Jugurtha's failings as he was of Massinissa's virtues.[80]

Jugurtha had not only died intestate but had killed many of his potential heirs. His sons were detained in Italy and not available. The only remaining member of his generation was his brother Gauda,[81] the great-grandfather of Juba II, whom his uncle Micipsa had named a secondary heir but who seems – unlike his cousins – to have survived the era of Jugurtha because he was in poor health and perceived as having a weak mind. He remains the most obscure of the Numidian kings.[82] He joined the Roman side during the war against Jugurtha and entered the entourage of Metellus in Utica, eventually requesting royal honors, which were denied.[83] Marius then enlisted Gauda's help by calling him by the title of king and promising that he would become Jugurtha's successor, especially if Marius were allowed to succeed Metellus as commander. Marius then encouraged Gauda to write to friends in Rome asking them to criticize Metellus and to have Marius replace him: Roman equestrians in Utica were also part of this successful effort.[84] Although Sallust implied that Marius was merely manipulating the weak-minded Gauda, it is possible that like the emperor Claudius, Gauda used his apparent infirmities as a survival tactic and that Marius was not totally self-interested but recognized Gauda as the only possible successor to Jugurtha

80 Jugurtha had little time for the arts of civilization, and there is scant information about his reign other than the intrigues and military events. Nevertheless, his coinage shows not only the standard Numidian elephant, but also a clean-shaven portrait of the king, the first Numidian monarch to adopt the Roman custom of shaving (Mazard #73–5). It is perhaps no coincidence that daily shaving among Romans was said to have been instituted by the Roman patron of the Numidian royal family, Scipio Aemilianus (*NH* 7.211).

81 The name is always Gauda in Latin. Dio, the only Greek literary source, mentioned him twice (fr. 89, from book 26), once as Γαύδας and once as Γναῖος, which, although a Roman name, is closer to the Γάος or Γαῦος of Greek inscriptions. Γάος appears on an inscription from Rhodes erected in honor of his son Hiempsal II, so is perhaps the extant rendering closest to the actual source. See Vassa N. Kontorini, "Le Roi Hiempsal II de Numidie et Rhodes," *AntCl* 64, 1975, 91.

82 Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 138, 220–1, 262–3, 275–6; Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 81–5.

83 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 65; Dio, fr. 89 (book 26).

84 Plutarch's version (*Marius* 7–8) makes no mention of Gauda's involvement in the pressure campaign.

and felt that he should be encouraged and supported. Presumably he was confirmed as king after Jugurtha's death, probably at the instigation of Marius.[85] Yet his actual reign remains a total blank, and he had died by 88 BC, when Marius fled to Africa from Sulla and found Gauda's son Hiempsal II on the throne.[86]

Gauda seems to have continued the Numidian custom of dividing his kingdom, giving it to his sons Hiempsal II and Masteabar. The latter is known only through a single highly fragmentary inscription that identifies him as a son of Gauda but provides no further information.[87] Masteabar may have been the grandfather of Arabion, who was still ruling a small portion of western Numidia after the main part had been provincialized in 46 BC, and whose rule lasted until about 41 BC.[88] Thus the sons of Gauda permanently split the Numidian territory. The major portion came to Hiempsal II, who was recognized by the Romans as "rex amicus."[89] Masteabar's territory degenerated into little more than a petty fiefdom.

From the time of the death of Gauda, Roman and Numidian affairs became totally tangled. The scare of Jugurtha and the spread of Roman influence in North Africa meant that the Numidian territories could no longer function separately from Rome, especially as the Roman political structure collapsed, owing to the developing civil war, whose first protagonists, Marius and Sulla, had themselves been deeply involved in Numidian affairs and quarreled over their varying interpretations of their roles.[90] Sulla had placed the scene of Bocchus surrendering Jugurtha to him on his signet ring, which Marius saw as a deliberate provocation,[91] and when Bocchus dedicated a victory memorial on the Capitol in Rome in 91 BC, Marius was outraged at the prominence given Sulla and was about to tear the monument down – and Sulla was about to respond in his own precipitous way – when the Social War intervened, postponing but not eliminating the hostility between the two.[92] Marius was expelled from Rome by Sulla a few years later and went to the Numidian court, only to be detained there and to fear for

85 Marius seems also to have given Gauda support by settling Gaetulian cavalry in his territory (Lintott, "The Roman Empire" [supra note 62], p. 30).

86 Plutarch, *Marius* 40; Appian, *Civil War* 1.62; see Broughton, vol. 2, pp. 41–2.

87 Kontorini (supra note 81), pp. 95–8; Gabriel Camps, "Les Derniers Rois numides: Massinissa II et Arabion," *BAC* n.s. 17b1, 1984, 303–6; W. Huss, "Die westmassylischen Könige," *AntSoc*, 20, 1989, 210–12. The inscription is from Syracuse, which raises the possibility of Masteabar's relations with that city.

88 See further, infra, pp. 92–3.

89 Cicero, *De lege agraria* 2.58. Official recognition may have been the work of Marius, if Cicero, *Post reditum ad Quirites* 20, is to be taken literally ("quibus regna ipse dederat"). On Hiempsal II, see Th. Lenschau, "Hiempsal," *RE* 8, 1913, 1393–5.

90 Pietro Romanelli, "Chi fu il vincitore di Giugurta: Mario o Silla?" *ArchStorTL* 2, 1960, 171–3.

91 *NH* 37.9; Valerius Maximus 8.14.4; Plutarch, *Sulla* 3–4, *Marius* 10.5–6.

92 Plutarch, *Sulla* 6, *Marius* 32; on the monument, see Thomas Schäfer, "Das Siegesdenkmal vom Kapitol," in *Numider*, pp. 243–50.

his life before escaping.[93] In this way, Numidian affairs came to be manipulated by Roman political interests of the era.

The Greco-Roman sources, needless to say, give the impression that Numidia was merely one of the theaters of the Roman civil war, and little independent information is available, although a close reading demonstrates that affairs in Numidia were far from stable and in a state of decline, something most obvious in the permanent splitting of the kingdom that Massinissa had unified only a century previously. Moreover, Hiempsal II had to face a revolt in his own region, led by a certain Hiarbas, who seems to have seized control not long after Hiempsal became king.[94] He attracted strong Roman interest: Africa became the refuge of choice of many of Sulla's opponents in the 80s BC, beginning with Marius in 88 BC.[95] Shortly thereafter Hiarbas emerged, and expelled Hiempsal from his throne.[96] Where he came from is a mystery. It is hard to relate him to the reigning family, which had largely been killed or exiled at the time of Jugurtha. There is some merit to the suggestion that he was Gaetulian, the Gaetulians being the indigenous population that lived south of Numidia.[97] Portions of them were beginning a transition toward a sedentary way of life. Jugurtha had organized them in Roman military fashion, and Marius had provided land and recognized their independent status.[98] It was a good time for a Gaetulian to claim the throne of Numidia – knowledge of the instability in Rome would only have made the opportunity seem more fortuitous – and this may have been what happened sometime after 88 BC.[99] Yet when Sulla became dictator in 82 BC, the Numidian situation needed attention, both because its legitimate king (whose rule had probably been ratified by Rome) had been deposed, and because Sullan opponents were involved in the claims of the usurper, since Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had fled to Africa after being proscribed, had gathered a large force and allied himself with Hiarbas.[100]

Sulla selected a rising young man who had joined his cause the previous year, Cn. Pompeius,[101] who landed with his army at Utica and went to Carthage. After a ludicrous episode when his troops became obsessed with

93 Plutarch, *Marius* 40; Appian, *Civil War* 1.62; Badian (supra note 15), pp. 237–8.
94 Appian, *Civil War* 1.80; Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 281–7.
95 Plutarch, *Crassus* 6; Sallust, *Jugurtha* 64.4; Badian (supra note 15), pp. 266–7.
96 Plutarch, *Pompeius* 12; Th. Lenschau, "Hiarbas" (#2), *RE* 8, 1913, 1388; Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 93–5.
97 Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army* (supra note 3), p. 79.
98 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 80; *De bello africo* 32, 56.
99 A memory of the Gaetulian usurper Hiarbas may have been preserved by Vergil in his Gaetulian Iarbas (*Aeneid* 4.36, 326).
100 Plutarch, *Pompeius* 11–12. He was one of the more obscure members of a family that would remain prominent for the next century. See Broughton 2.560; F. Münzer, "Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus" (#22), *RE* 5, 1903, 1327–8; Robin Seager, *Pompey: A Political Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), p. 10.
101 Plutarch, *Pompeius* 11–13; Appian, *Civil War* 1.80; Seager (supra note 100), pp. 10–12. On the career of Pompeius in North Africa, see Mohamed Majdoub, "Pompeius Magnus et les rois maures," *AfrRom* 12, 1998, 1321–8.

recovering the lost treasures of Carthage and proceeded to dig up the ruins of the city, Pompeius engaged Domitius and Hiarbas, defeating them so totally in a forty-day campaign that he was saluted as *imperator*. Domitius was killed; Hiarbas briefly escaped but was soon captured and also killed.[102] During the next year, Pompeius, in Plutarch's revealing phrase, "arranged the affairs of the kings."[103] Hiempsal was returned to the throne.[104] The Gaetulians were, officially at least, made his subjects,[105] a policy that would cause much trouble for the next century. There seems to have been some recognition of the petty kingdom of Masteabar.[106] Pompeius then returned to Italy to be given a triumph, although still in his twenties and only an equestrian, gaining the title "Magnus" that he would carry for the rest of his life. Like his mentor Sulla, he first achieved fame by settling a Numidian war,[107] but, in a dramatic indication of how things had changed in the quarter-century since the time of Jugurtha, this war had seen Romans die on both sides, with a consul killed by a promagistrate. Ominous precedents were being set.[108]

Once he had been returned to his throne, Hiempsal was honored by the Rhodians, probably for commercial reasons:[109] Rhodes was near the end of its independent identity and had long been in decline, and may have been looking for wealthy allies. He still retained possession of the Carthaginian state library and perhaps wrote on history himself.[110] He appears on his coinage as clean-shaven in the Roman style.[111] But there are no other details about his reign for twenty years after his restoration.[112] Roman interests were elsewhere.

102 Livy, *Epitome* 89; according to Orosius (5.21), he escaped to Bulla Regia and perhaps was heading toward Mauretania: because of this it has been suggested (Romanelli, *Storia*, p. 95) that Bulla Regia was his power base. See also Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 89.
103 Plutarch, *Pompeius* 12.5: διήτησε τὰ τῶν βασιλέων.
104 Aulus Gellius 9.12.14 (=Sallust, *Histories* 1.45 [ed. McGushin]).
105 *De bello africo* 56.
106 This, presumably, is the meaning of the phrase in *De viris illustribus* (77.2) that Pompeius took Numidia from Hiarbas and gave it to Massinissa. This Massinissa may have been the son of Masteabar and father of Arabion: see Camps, *BAC* (supra note 87), pp. 303–10; Huss (supra note 87), pp. 214–15.
107 The parallel was not lost on Sulla: Plutarch, *Pompeius* 13.
108 This was effectively stressed by Badian (supra note 15), pp. 271–2: "From Hiempsal and Hiarbas the road leads straight to . . . Juba [I] and Cleopatra."
109 Kontorini (supra note 81), pp. 89–99.
110 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 17; Paul (supra note 30), p. 74; Victor Matthews, "The *libri Punici* of King Hiempsal," *AJP* 93, 1972, 330–5; Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 137–8. Despite the contrary arguments of Syme (supra note 60), p. 153, and Camps (*LibAE*, supra note 4), pp. 15–16, repeated in his "Hiempsal [Hemsal]," *EB* 23, 2000, 3464), it seems unlikely that Sallust's "libri punici . . . regis Hiempsalis" refers to the short-lived Hiempsal I, who barely had time to be king before tangling fatally with Jugurtha. See, further, Véronique Krings, "Les *libri Punici* de Salluste," *AfrRom* 7, 1989, 109–17; Morstein-Marx, *AJP* (supra note 3), pp. 195–7.
111 Mazard #75–83.
112 At some date the citizens of Thurburbo built a structure in his honor, but the inscription seems imperial and may be from the time of Juba II or Ptolemaios, his grandson and great-grandson. See Stephane Gsell, *Inscriptiones latines de l'Algérie* 1 (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1965), #1242; Gsell, vol. 7, p. 290.

In 63 and 62 BC, however, Numidia again came to the forefront of Roman politics. Initially, there was the matter of a major agrarian bill proposed early in 63 BC by the tribune P. Servilius Rullus, an obscurity who was probably acting for others. The bill is known only through Cicero's speeches against it, which makes interpretation difficult.[113] A detailed discussion of it and its context is not in order here;[114] of interest is that the bill, basically a complex procedure for obtaining and distributing land, not only in Italy but in recently acquired overseas territories, contained a special exemption. Lands owned by King Hiempsal could not be included, even though they were within the boundaries of the province of Africa.[115] The status of these royal estates was ambiguous, and the consul C. Aurelius Cotta in 75 BC had officially asserted Hiempsal's ownership of them. Yet the Senate does not seem to have ratified this, and Hiempsal naturally was concerned and sent his son Juba (I) to state his case in Rome. It seems that Rome had coveted these estates for some time – the Senate had frequently debated the matter – and Cotta's affirmation of Hiempsal's ownership must be placed in the context of other events of his consulship, including problems relating to the official provincialization of Kyrenaika and the related issue of grain shortages in Italy that resulted in riots in the streets.[116] Cotta's recognition of the Numidian claim to rich agricultural lands within Roman territory must have seemed unwise to many, and twelve years later an attempt to legalize the exclusion would only have been worse.

One can thus only speculate at the motives for the exemption: Cicero hinted that it was bribery, and noted deprecatingly the presence of Hiempsal's son. There certainly was a long history of Numidian bribery at Rome, or so it was believed.[117] The bill did not seem to have popular support, and ultimately failed to pass, perhaps killed by the threat of a tribunician veto,[118] so the effect on Hiempsal's estates was moot. But it seems that Rome had begun to look avariciously at the agrarian wealth that the Numidian kings held.[119]

A few months later there was a further incident involving the Numidian royalty. Another claimant to the throne, a certain Masintha, appealed unsuc-

113 Cicero, *De lege agraria* 1, 2, 3; the few other sources are derivative.

114 For which see Erich S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, first paperback edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 389–94; G. V. Sumner, "Cicero, Pompeius, and Rullus," *TAPA* 97, 1966, 569–82; Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 122–4; E. J. Jonkers, *Social and Economic Commentary on Cicero's* De lege agraria orationes tres (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963).

115 Cicero, *De lege agraria* 1.10–11, 2.58; see Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army* (supra note 3), pp. 53–4. Pompeius may have been behind the exemption since he had restored Hiempsal to his throne: see Sumner (supra note 114), pp. 569–82; Seager (supra note 100), pp. 63–4.

116 Broughton, vol. 2, p. 96; Sallust, *Histories* 2.44 (McGushin); David C. Braund, "Cicero on Hiempsal II and Juba: *de leg. agr.* 2.58–9," *LCM* 8, 1983, 87–9.

117 Paul (supra note 30), pp. 261–3.

118 *NH* 7.117; Plutarch, *Cicero* 12; Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 65; Gruen, *Last Generation* (supra note 114), p. 394.

119 On this, see Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army* (supra note 3), pp. 53–4.

cessfully to Rome to be recognized as an independent king. It is probable that he was a descendant of Jugurtha, perhaps a grandson, since to Suetonius he was "iuvenis" and Jugurtha's sons, if still alive, would be in their mid-forties. A descendant of Jugurtha would have a strong claim to the Numidian kingdom. Whoever Masintha was, his case attracted the notice of one of the most powerful people in Rome: it was put forth by Julius Caesar. The position of the legitimate king, Hiempsal, was articulated by his son Juba, perhaps still in the city after his involvement with the Rullan land bill.[120] The hearings became notorious when Juba was physically assaulted by Caesar. Masintha lost his case and was declared subject to Hiempsal, but Caesar spirited him out of town and to Spain.

At about the same time there was the matter of P. Vatinius, quaestor in 63 BC, who was early in a long and distinguished career as a Caesarean adherent. He was attached to the staff of C. Cosconius, propraetor in Spain in the following year. Vatinius went there, probably early in 62 BC, by a strangely circuitous route: he first visited the court of Hiempsal, and then moved west to that of Mastanesosus, probably the Mauretanian king.[121] Again the only source for these events is Cicero, who cross-examined Vatinius on another matter a number of years later,[122] and who made the journey sound as sinister as possible, especially since Vatinius was not only an adherent but a relative of Caesar's, and his long route to Spain had taken him well outside Roman territory. The actual reason behind Vatinius' actions cannot be explained. Cicero, with the hindsight of several years, saw it all as part of some complex Caesarean scheme. Nevertheless, it is intriguing that these three last glimpses of Hiempsal's kingship – the visit of Vatinius, Caesar's defense of Masintha, and the Rullan land bill – all occurred within a few months of each other. It is impossible to see beyond to the broad policies that inspired the events, but clearly there was a growing, almost obsessive, Roman interest in the Numidian kingdom. Within little more than a decade, in 50 BC, the tribune C. Scribonius Curio was to propose the Roman confiscation of all of Numidia,[123] a move that was effected by other means four years later.

120 Suetonius, *Julius* 71; Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 124–5; Gsell, vol. 7, p. 294 (who suggested that "Masintha" was a corruption of Massinissa, perhaps the ally of Caesar mentioned by Vitruvius [8.3.25]); Romanelli, *Storia*, p. 100; Teutsch (supra note 72), pp. 52–3. Caesar's status as the nephew of Marius may have been the reason Masintha asked for his help, as Numidians were to do in Africa fifteen years later (*De bello africo* 32), but there is no hint of this, despite Matthias Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman*, sixth edition, translated Peter Needham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 45.

121 On Mastanesosus, see infra, p. 56.

122 Cicero, *In Vatinium* 12.

123 Caesar, *Bellum Civile* 2.25; Dio 41.41; Lucan, *Pharsalia* 4.689–94.

Nothing further is known about Hiempsal's reign. By 50 BC his son Juba I was on the throne.[124] The enclave ruled by Masteabar had remained independent and passed into the hands of Arabion, probably his grandson, by about the same time.[125] The date of the death of Hiempsal II and accession of Juba I falls between 62 and 50 BC, but the details of the succession have not been preserved. Juba I was born no later than around 80 BC and had spent time in Rome as his father's agent. In early 63 BC when he attended the hearings of the land bill of Rullus, Cicero left a description of the young prince: "Hovering before their eyes is Juba, the son of the king, a young man as rich as he is long-haired."[126] Cicero's polemic words imply that Juba was ready to insure the exemption for his father through abundant monetary resources, and then degenerate into a racial epithet, contrasting the hirsute barbarian with the clean-shaven Romans, and punning on the Latin word *iuba*, which means "mane."[127] The coinage of Juba I shows his rich beard,[128] which plays a role in the only other incident known from his youth: a few months later Julius Caesar, when defending Masintha against Hiempsal, came to blows with the prince and pulled his beard.[129] As Rome degenerated into permanent civil instability, the conspicuous physical differences between Romans and foreigners – especially that implied in the very word *barbarus* – became an element of popular culture and invective.

When Juba I became king, a few years later, his rule was not immediately confirmed by Rome.[130] Yet despite his earlier mistreatment by some Romans, his cultural and political debt to Rome was strong, and he placed his coinage onto the Roman standard and adopted occasional Latin titulature

124 On Juba I, see Th. Lenschau, "Iuba" (#1), *RE* 9, 1916, 2381–4; A. Charbonneaux, "Giuba I," *EAA* 3, 1960, 917; Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 126–34.

125 Camps, *BAC* (supra note 87), pp. 303–11.

126 Cicero, *De lege agraria* 2.59: "Volitat enim ante oculos istorum Juba, regis filius, adulescens non minus bene nummatus quam bene capillatus."

127 The word was used by Ennius, *Annals* 520, but other citations are from the time of Cicero and later (see *OLD*), so it came to be definitely associated with the African kings. On this see Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 68; Braund, *LCM* (supra note 116), p. 89.

128 Especially Mazard #88. A portrait bust from Caesarea (Figure 15, p. 140), now in the Louvre (MA 1885), idealized, with full beard and exceedingly luxuriant hair, is generally identified as the king and was probably commissioned by his son: see Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London: Phaidon, 1965), p. 280, figures 2000–2. A stele from Chemtou in Numidia shows a horseman with rich beard and thick hair, carrying a royal diadem and riding on an elaborate saddle and using a bridle. Because of these characteristics, it has also been suggested to be of the king. See Theodor Kraus, "Reiterbild eines Numiderkönigs," in *Praestant Interna: Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann*, ed. Bettina von Freytag geb. Löringhoff *et al.* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1982), pp. 146–7; François Bertrandy, "À propos du cavalier de Simitthus (Chemtou)," *AntAfr* 22, 1986, 57–71.

129 Suetonius, *Julius* 71.

130 In 49 BC Pompeius was unsuccessfully to move that he be made "socius and amicus" (Caesar, *Bellum civile* 1.6), a motion blocked by the consul C. Claudius Marcellus, although Pompeius unilaterally confirmed him as king later that year (Dio 41.42.7).

(Figure 25a, p. 245).[131] He also initiated an elaborate building program at his capital of Zama and perhaps elsewhere,[132] influenced by both Greek and Roman forms. Coins show an octostyle temple, perhaps in the Doric or Tuscan style, on a high platform (Figure 25b).[133] The eight columns are divided into two groups separated by a passageway at the head of a stairway leading up to the platform. The building is surmounted by a cupola. One coin has this structure on one side and another on the reverse, positioned on a low stylobate with three Atlas figures alternating with Tuscan Doric columns, and a second, Ionic colonnade above the architrave.[134] The building is stoa-like and has been suggested to be Juba's palace at Zama, which was the site of a major building operation on his part, including a double fortification wall, but the apparent presence of horned altars on the roof may indicate a religious function.[135] Yet it is in the tradition of the great stoas of the Hellenistic world,[136] or even the basilicas that were beginning to become common in Rome, such as the so-called Basilica Aemilia, which had been restored in 78 BC, shortly before Juba's visit to the city, and whose coin representations are remarkably similar to the structure depicted on Juba's coins.[137] The cupola on the octostyle temple is also typically Hellenistic, remindful of the Stoa of Poseidon on Delos.[138]

Although the accounts of Juba I were affected by his position on the losing side of the Roman civil war, he seems to have been an aggressive and vigorous monarch who continued the expansive ambitions of his predecessors.[139] He embarked on a major expedition against unnamed desert tribes

131 Mazard p. 49, #84–93. On the coinage, see also François Bertrandy, "Remarques sur l'origine romaine du monnayage en bronze et en argent de Juba I^er^, roi de Numidie," *BAC* 12–14, 1976–8 (1980), 9–22.

132 If not at Zama, the building shown on Juba's coins may have been at Mactaris (see *BAGRW*, map 33), modern Makthar, a major pre-Roman city that became a colonia in the second century AC. Located in his ancestral region of the Zama hinterland (for which, infra, note 170), its extensive remains and long history make it a possibility for his architectural efforts. See Collette Charles-Picard and Gilbert Charles-Picard, "Recherches sur l'architecture numide," *Karthago* 19, 1980, 30–31, and A. Ennabli, "Mactaris (Makthar)," *PECS*, pp. 540–1.

133 Mazard #84, 85, 90; Gilbert Charles Picard, "Basilique et palais de Juba I de Numidie," *BAC* 18, 1982 (1988), 165–7.

134 Mazard #91.

135 Vitruvius 8.3.24; Gsell, vol. 7, p. 293; Bluma L. Trell, "Ancient Coins: New Light on North African Architecture," in *Actes du Premier Congrès d'Histoire et de la Civilisation du Maghreb* 1 (Tunis: Université de Tunis, 1979), pp. 83–94.

136 A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, fifth edition, revised by R. A. Tomlinson (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 197–9.

137 Axel Boethius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, second integrated edition (Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 151. In fact, the coin representation may be significant in understanding the enigmatic history of the basilica: see Charles-Picard (supra note 132), p. 19.

138 Lawrence (supra note 136), pp. 200–1. The traditional modern name for this building is the Hypostyle Hall.

139 If Lucan 10.144–6, on luxury goods from Egypt at Juba's court, is not anachronistic, Juba I had commercial relations with the Ptolemies, something not unexpected.

who were in a state of revolt, and if the source, Aelian (who recorded it for natural historical, not political or military reasons), can be taken literally, the campaign lasted a year.[140] It is probable that the insurgents were the Gaetulians, whom Pompeius had ill-advisedly placed under Numidian control and who were resisting, as they were to do for the next century.[141] Juba may also have seized some or all of the territory of Leptis, invited in by a local faction.[142] In attacking the ancient Phoenician city that would become famous in imperial times as Leptis Magna, he had moved far around the southern edge of the Roman province to the east, and into the independent district between Roman Africa and Kyrenaika, a venture perhaps not unusual for one who had spent a year in the desert pursuing the Gaetulians, but probably quite frightening to the Romans. The citizens of Leptis complained to Rome, and the Senate appointed a commission that decided in their favor and forced Juba to withdraw. The taking of Leptis, if nothing else, would have resulted in serious questions in Rome about the future of the Numidian kingdom. Moreover, as the polarization between Caesar and Pompeius intensified, it was obvious that Juba would be on the side of Pompeius, who had restored his father to the throne, not that of Caesar, who had publicly assaulted him in Rome.

It was in this context that a solution to the Numidian question was put forth early in 50 BC by the ambitious tribune Q. Scribonius Curio, who proposed that the kingdom be confiscated.[143] Curio's legislation was agrarian, and the agricultural riches of North Africa had long been envied by Rome, but the singling out of Juba and his kingdom also would have had a narrower political focus. It came to nothing – for complex reasons, Curio eventually withdrew his entire legislative program – but nevertheless it would have fatal consequences, as Juba now knew that certain factions in Rome meant to destroy him.

Perhaps in part seeking to mitigate the damage done by Curio's proposal, and to build his own power base in the face of Caesar's return from Gaul early in 49 BC, Pompeius suggested that Juba be officially recognized as a friend and ally of Rome.[144] But the matter was indefinitely postponed, and when Pompeius left Italy for the East, Juba made plans to support him militarily.[145] This emerging alliance between Juba and Pompeius may have been influential in Caesar's decision to send his own troops into Numidia, selecting for command none other than Curio.[146] The wisdom of choosing for this endeavor the Roman whom Juba most hated is not immediately obvious.[147] Curio's primary objective was the Pompeian governor of Africa, P. Attius Varus, who was encamped at Utica. Varus had been governor previously, and since the position was vacant, he had returned and used his familiarity with the district to create a power base that was a center of Pompeian support. In Curio's army was the future historian Asinius Pollio, who is the major source (other than Caesar) for the events that followed.[148]

Curio landed in Africa and eventually took up a position near Utica. He was initially successful in defeating both a Numidian cavalry force and Varus. But Juba sent out his general Saburra to make camp south of the city on the Bagradas (modern Mejerda) River: the king did not appear in force for fear that Curio would merely abandon the expedition and put to sea, implying that, for Juba, personal revenge was a major priority. Curio was soon in serious difficulty: emboldened by Caesar's recent successes in Spain, he was rash and overconfident, ill-prepared for the heat of an African summer. The scant water resources were diminished by local poisoning of wells. But he felt that Saburra's force was defeatable and was taken in by Juba's stratagem to appear to remain uninvolved: Juba even let it be known that domestic problems prevented his appearance. Curio withdrew into the hills, where his troops continued to suffer from the heat, and then attacked Saburra's force, only to find it supplemented by Juba's troops. The unfortunate Curio and his exhausted and demoralized troops were slaughtered, except for Asinius Pollio's detachment, which had retreated to protect Utica.[149]

Pollio attempted to embark his troops on merchant ships, but this turned into disaster and chaos, and those left on shore surrendered to Varus. Juba, over his objections, had them killed, although Pollio escaped to write

140 Aelian, *On Animals* 7.23. His interest was an encounter with a lion, for which see infra, p. 204.

141 Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 292–3.

142 *De bello africo* 97; Caesar, *Bellum civile* 2.38. It seems without question that the object of Juba's interest was the future Leptis Magna, not Leptis in Africa, on the coast south of Carthage and later known as Leptis Minor (modern Lamta), which was within Roman territory. An incursion here would have resulted in a response stronger than a senatorial commission, and there would have been no debate in Rome about the legality of Juba's actions.

143 Caesar, *Bellum civile* 2.25; Dio 41.41; Lucan 4.689–95; Cicero, *Ad familiares* 8.11.3 (from M. Caelius Rufus to Cicero, April 50 BC). On the character of Curio and his tribunate, see W. K. Lacey, "The Tribunate of Curio," *Historia* 10, 1961, 318–29; on the legislation and its fate, see Gruen, *Last Generation* (supra note 114), pp. 471–81.

144 Caesar, *Bellum civile* 1.6.

145 *De bello alexandrino* 51; François Bertrandy, "L'Aide militaire de Juba I[er] aux Pompeiens pendant la guerre civile en Afrique du Nord (50–46 avant J.-C.)," in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord: Actes du IV[e] Colloque International* 2: *L'Armeé et les affaires militaires* (Paris: CTHS, 1991), pp. 289–97. A few years later, in May of 46 BC, Cicero lamented that the alliance between Pompeius and Juba was a major reason that he had withdrawn from active participation in the war, as he did not want to end up a refugee in Numidia (*Ad familiares* 7.3.3).

146 Caesar, *Bellum civile* 1.30–1. For the chronology, see Erik Wistrand, "The Date of Curio's African Campaign," *Eranos* 61, 1963, 38–44.

147 Dio 41.41; Lucan 4.692–3.

148 The ancient sources are Caesar, *Bellum civile* 2.24–42; Livy, *Epitome* 110; Lucan, 4.666–787; Appian, *Civil War* 2.44–6; Dio 41.41–2; Florus 2.13.26; Orosius 6.15. For an analysis of Lucan's highly literary and allegorial treatment of the events, see Charles Saylor, "Curio and Antaeus: The African Episode of Lucan *Pharsalia* IV," *TAPA* 112, 1982, 169–77.

149 Over a century later, Frontinus considered Juba's tactics worthy of recording in his *Stratagems* (2.5.40).

history.[150] Juba took control of Utica – he was escorted into the city under an armed guard of senators loyal to Pompeius – and immediately sent a message to Greece. Pompeius replied by giving Juba honors and recognition as king (something Rome had never officially granted him).[151] But Caesar's faction declared Juba a public enemy and confirmed the Mauretanians Bocchus II and Bogudes II as kings of their own territories, which would have the effect of opening a second front against Juba.[152]

The autumn and winter of 49–48 BC was the high point of Juba I's career. He had defeated a Roman army led, with tragic irony, by the very man who two years previously had proposed taking his kingdom away from him and who was a deputy of the one who had previously assaulted him in Rome. He had occupied a Roman provincial capital, dictated terms to its inhabitants, and received a senatorial escort. He had been honored and acknowledged as king – something that had so long eluded him – by the most senior Roman alive, who had himself gained the name "Magnus" for restoring Juba's father. Now control of all of the Carthaginian territory – something long desired by the Numidian kings – and expulsion of the upstart and invasive Romans were at hand. Dreams of a Numidian empire stretching from the Atlantic to the Kyrenaika were not unreasonable. It was probably about this time that his son, the future Juba II, was born. Juba I had every reason to be proud of his own accomplishments, and immediately began to further his goals by sending a large force to Pompeius in Greece.[153]

But then came Pharsalos, almost exactly a year after the battle at the Bagradas River. Pompeius after his defeat considered taking refuge at the court of Juba.[154] Yet he was persuaded instead to go to Egypt, which was closer and where he had connections to the Ptolemies, but upon his arrival he was promptly killed.[155] Nonetheless, two of his staff did end up in Africa: his father-in-law Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio (consul in 52 BC)[156] and M. Porcius Cato, great-grandson of the Cato of the Second Punic War:[157] the

150 The history (no longer extant) was commemorated by Horace (*Ode* 2.1), who placed the war in the context of Jugurtha, which avoided issues of dubious morality, a common technique in analyses of the civil war: see Annagabriella Bianchi, "Giugurta e la guerra giugurtina in Orazio," *Miscellanea greca e romana* 18 (Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica 56 [Rome 1994]), pp. 151–66.

151 Dio 41.42.

152 On Bocchus II and Bogudes II, see infra, pp. 55–8, 93–5.

153 *De bello alexandrino* 51. The troops may not have reached Pompeius in time, since they are not listed in the catalog of allies at Pharsalos (Caesar, *Bellum civile* 3.3–5).

154 Velleius 2.53; Plutarch, *Pompeius* 76; Appian, *Civil War* 2.83–4.

155 Several years previously, Pompeius had been the executor of the will of Ptolemaios XII Auletes and thus was legally the guardian of his contentious children and heirs, Ptolemaios XIII and Kleopatra VII (Caesar, *Bellum civile* 3.108). Although he had not actively exercised the role, this may explain his choice of Egypt, as well as his murder by members of the Ptolemaic court circle, who would have feared his potential for meddling. On this see Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 136–7.

156 F. Münzer, "Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio" (#99), *RE* 3, 1899, 1224–8.

157 Franz Miltner and W. H. Gross, "M. Porcius Cato Uticensis" (#16), *RE* 22, 1953, 168–213.

names of both indicate their long-standing family connections with Africa. Scipio, as senior officer, quickly became the commander of the growing Pompeian forces in Africa and made a close alliance with Juba.[158]

In early 47 BC a considerable number of Pompeians were gathered in and around Utica.[159] By December (which, because of the unadjusted calendar, was actually early autumn) Caesar, who had returned to Rome after a momentous stopover in Egypt, was ready to move against them. He had six legions to oppose fourteen, which allegedly included 120 elephants.[160] His strategy was to ignore Utica and to land on the coast well to the southeast, perhaps driving a wedge between the Pompeian and Juban forces. Shortly after landing and establishing a camp at Hadrumetum (modern Sousse), he began to be harassed by Juba's cavalry.[161] Juba had moved out of Numidia into Africa, but had been stopped when Bocchus II and his general Sittius[162] arrived from Mauretania. Juba then retreated into his kingdom, leaving thirty elephants with Scipio.[163]

Meanwhile, with Cato remaining in Utica, Scipio advanced toward Caesar's position, and in January of 46 BC a major engagement took place on the coast near Ruspina (modern Monastir).[164] Scipio's troops panicked and were driven from the field with major casualties. He appealed to Juba for help, and, leaving Saburra behind to harass Sittius, the king joined Scipio and forced Caesar into retreat. Yet in a brilliant tactical maneuver Caesar's forces turned and attacked in the midst of their withdrawal, almost capturing Juba. This so demoralized Scipio's troops that massive defections began. Meanwhile, Caesar had been opening contacts with the Gaetulians, invoking the name of his uncle Marius, and they were persuaded to revolt, requiring Juba to defend a third front. Tempers began to run short, and Juba and Scipio started bickering about matters as trivial as each other's battle dress. Juba began to act erratically, crucifying any of his troops who retreated and preempting the imminent Caesarean capture of Vaga (modern Beja) by slaughtering its inhabitants and leveling the town.[165] Although allowances must be made for the Roman desire to portray Juba as viciously and

158 Velleius 2.54.

159 The major source for the events that followed is the anonymous *De bello africo*, written by a member of Caesar's staff. Other sources are Livy, *Epitome* 110–14; Suetonius, *Julius* 35, 66; Plutarch, *Cato the Younger*, *Caesar* 52–5; Appian, *Civil War* 2.44–100; Florus 2.13.64–72; Dio 43.2–13. For modern sources, see Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 1–155; Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 111–28; Gelzer (supra note 120), pp. 264–71; Rudolf Fehrle, *Cato Uticensis* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983), pp. 261–78; Elizabeth Rawson, "Caesar: Civil War and Dictatorship," *CAH*[2] 9, 1994, 434–6.

160 H. H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), pp. 191–8.

161 *De bello africo* 1–6.

162 On the early career of Sittius, see infra, pp. 56–7.

163 *De bello africo* 25, 36; Appian, *Civil War* 2.96.

164 *De bello africo* 32, 52–5.

165 *De bello africo* 66, 75; on Vaga, see Teutsch (supra note 72), p. 36.

disagreeably as possible,[166] desperation seems to have induced him to act in a highly abnormal way. Casualties and desertions were high, and revolts began within Juba's kingdom: the citizens of Thabena, a coastal city on his northern frontier, rose up and massacred the royal garrison, appealing to Caesar, who sent a force to occupy the town.[167]

In early April the final engagement took place at Thapsus, on the coast southeast of Ruspina, at modern Ras Dinass near Bekalta. Juba's elephants, new to warfare, charged back into the lines.[168] This began a rout in which thousands were killed. Others managed to escape toward Utica, where Cato was in charge. Scipio committed suicide, either on his ship or at Utica, and Cato did the same.[169] Juba fled to his royal city of Zama (Figure 2).[170]

166 *De bello africo* 57: "a most arrogant and impotent man" ("homini superbissimo inertissimoque"). As early as June of 46 BC, Cicero was complaining to Varro that it was improper for the Pompeian forces to seek protection from a barbarian king and his elephants (*Ad familiares* 9.6.3; see also Alberto Cossarini, "Cic. *Epist.* 9, 6, 3 *ad bestiarum auxilium*," *AttiVen* 141, 1982–3, 93–103). In one of the *Suasoriae* (7.14) of the elder Seneca, an unfortunate named Gargonius is thoroughly ridiculed for saying something good about Juba, and half a century after the war Ovid would encounter an aged veteran of the campaign who could still speak of the "perfida arma Iubae" (*Fasti* 4.380; see also Quintilian 11.1.80). This demonization of Juba I – similar to that which would happen to Kleopatra VII some years later – provided an easy way of ignoring greater moral issues of the war. Interestingly, it did not seem to affect the status of his son, as it did not that of Kleopatra VII's daughter, both of whom were able to assert their distinguished lineage despite their parents' sins.

167 *De bello africo* 77.

168 Florus 2.13.67–9; see also Dio 43.8.

169 The accounts of the deaths of the two commanders (preserved in *De bello africo* 88–93; Livy, *Epitome* 114; Plutarch, *Cato the Younger* 65–70; Appian, *Civil War* 2.98–9; Florus 2.13.67–9) have become intermixed and confused, but it seems that both died by suicide at about the same time.

170 Zama Regia was the nearest (i.e. easternmost) of the Numidian royal cities, and thus the most accessible. Its location is in the area west of modern Siliana, a region where toponyms such as "Jemna" and "Jamaa" still exist. Topographical interest in the area has tended to center on the location of the great battle of 204 BC in which P. Cornelius Scipio, with the aid of Massinissa, defeated Hannibal. But Zama Regia is in the same vicinity, near where the hills known as Jebel Massouge come to an end about 20 km southwest of Siliana and drop down to a plain. The westernmost extension of the hills creates a pocket about 2 km across surrounded by ridges on all sides except the southwest, where it leads into a large flat plain, an extension of the valley of the Oeud Tessa. Somewhere in this plain, perhaps extending east into the pocket, is Zama Regia: Sallust, a local resident in 46 and 45 BC, explicitly put the city "in campo" (*Jugurtha* 57.1). Although physical remains are remarkably sparse, Numidian tombs are common around the perimeter of the region, especially to the southwest at modern Elles, which is just north of a modern village named El Jemaa. Inscriptions with "ZAM.REG" have been found throughout the area, and a large masonry structure on a prominent summit to the northeast at Kbor Klib has been suggested to be the tomb of Juba and Petreius, or perhaps Caesar's victory monument (but see infra, note 174). This is placed at the only point where it would be visible, and prominently so, from everywhere in the plain of Zama. See Charles Saumagne, "Zama Regia," *CRAI* 1941, pp. 445–53; Vitruvius (ed. Callebat), pp. 124–6; Louis Déroche, "Les Fouilles de Ksar Toual Zammel et la question de Zama," *MÉFR* 60, 1948, 55–104; Francis H. Russell, "The Battlefield of Zama," *Archaeology* 23, 1970, 120–9. An alternative location is near modern Jamna, 9 km west of Siliana, where there are extensive remains, but it is nowhere near a plain and is probably Zama Minor. See Pliny (ed. Desanges), pp. 321–6 (which includes a thorough discussion of the problem of the location of Zama); *BAGRW*, map 32.

Figure 2 The site of Zama, looking southwest from Kbor Klib. The town site was probably in the middle distance, in the flat area.

Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

Accompanying him was the Roman officer M. Petreius, perhaps the praetor of 64 BC who had been with Pompeius in Greece.[171] Juba's family was in Zama, including his infant son, the future Juba II, but the king was refused entry. The citizens of Zama had no reason to allow him in, since he had previously announced that were he to be defeated he would massacre the inhabitants, burn all his possessions in the forum, and kill his family and himself. After long entreaties and an unsuccessful request to be given his family, he and Petreius withdrew to a country estate,[172] indulged in an elaborate banquet, and then killed one other.[173] Caesar soon arrived in Zama in pursuit of Juba and spent several weeks in the vicinity auctioning the royal possessions, rewarding the citizens, and arranging for the territory to

171 Broughton, vol. 2, p. 600; F. Münzer, "M. Petreius" (#3), *RE* 19, 1937, 1182–9.

172 It has been suggested by Saumagne (supra note 170), p. 453, that this was at Ismuc, 20 miles from Zama, the only other toponym mentioned by Vitruvius (8.3.24) in his discussion of the royal city, a description distinctly set in the context of Juba I. The location of Ismuc is unknown (Vitruvius [ed. Callebat], p. 126; *BAGRW Directory*, p. 506, which cites Vitruvius incorrectly).

173 The details vary: see W. C. McDermott, "M. Petreius and Juba," *Latomus* 28, 1969, 858–62. Juba's death became a moral paradigm: see Seneca, *On Providence* 2.10. On the cultural implications of the death, see Paul Jal, *La Guerre civile à Rome: étude littéraire et morale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963), pp. 310–15.

be provincialized. He may also have erected a victory monument.[174] He eventually left Sallust in charge and returned to Rome, arriving there in July.[175] Although the sources do not record it at this point, he took Juba's infant son with him, perhaps saving him more as the descendant of the noble Massinissa than as the son of the perfidious Juba I.

In late September of that year Caesar celebrated an elaborate quadruple triumph, one of the great spectacles of the era.[176] Gaul, Pontos, Egypt, and Africa were the four stages, and there was a rich variety of games, shows, and exhibits. Caesar's grandnephew C. Octavius, 16 years of age, made one of his first public appearances in the African portion.[177] There was a flaming model of the Pharos at Alexandria and pictures and portraits of those involved, except for Pompeius, who still had many supporters. The suicides of the leaders were prominently depicted: Scipio jumping wounded into the ocean, Cato disemboweling himself, and Petreius and Juba dueling to the death. Some of this was not well received by the spectators, who remembered that thousands of Romans had also died, but by and large they were thrilled at it all, especially the magnificent procession of elephants carrying torches[178] and that of the notable captives, including the Gallic chieftain Vercingetorix, Arsinoë, the sister of Kleopatra VII and, to some, the legitimate queen of Egypt – her appearance in chains offended many – and, of course, the infant son of Juba I, carried along, "the happiest captive ever captured," Plutarch was to write,[179] since he arrived in Rome as a barbarian prisoner but became a learned Greek historian. Yet the little Juba II would have had slight comprehension of what had happened or what was to come. He could not have remembered much if anything about his family,[180] although he was eventually taught to remember his father's friends and would place in his palace at Volubilis a bronze portrait of Cato.[181]

174 This is one interpretation of the masonry monument at Kbor Klib: see Russell (supra note 170), p. 129. It is also suggested to be the tomb of Juba and Petreius (supra note 170), and even a Numidian sanctuary of the first half of the first century BC (Friedrich Rakob, "Numidische Königsarchitektur in Nordafrika," *Numider*, pp. 129–30). Regardless, the monument is significant in locating ancient Zama.

175 *De bello africo* 91–8.

176 The primary sources are Plutarch, *Caesar* 55; Appian, *Civil War* 2.101–2; Florus 2.13.88–9; Dio. 43.19–24; for others, see Jean-Louis Voisin, "Le Triomphe africain de 46 et l'idéologie césarienne," *AntAfr* 19, 1983, 7–33; Ettore Pais, *Fasti triumphales populi romani* (Rome: Nardecchia, 1920), pp. 270–80; Gelzer (supra note 120), pp. 284–6.

177 Suetonius, *Augustus* 8.

178 These elephants, captured from Juba, ended up in the hands of Octavian after Caesar's murder and were used in Italy at that time: Cicero, *Philippic* 5.46; Dio 45.13.4; Scullard (supra note 160), pp. 197–8.

179 Plutarch, *Caesar* 55: μακαριωτάτην ἁλοὺς ἅλωσιν.

180 The fate of the rest of the family of Juba I, including his wives and other children, all at Zama, is not recorded.

181 Infra, pp. 144–5.

2

MAURETANIA

The infant son of Juba I was thus saved to grow up in Rome. Twenty years later he would be named king of Mauretania, a territory that he had never seen and over which he had at most a weak claim, if any at all. Why this happened – and why this was a reasonable decision for Augustus – is due to the history of the Roman relationship with the district of northwest Africa that was loosely called Mauretania.[1] This was a vast, undefined area, over 1,000 miles in extent, stretching from the western limit of Roman territory to the Atlantic.[2] The term "Mauretania" originally applied to the western half of this region, beyond the Muluccha River,[3] but acquisitions by the Mauretanian kings, especially in the late second century BC,

1 Although the ethnic Μαυρούσιοι was in use in Greek literature from the second century BC (Polybios 3.33.15), the earliest extant use of the toponym in a contemporary sense is Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 56, from 62 BC, describing the intrigues of P. Sittius (see Cicero, *Pro P. Sulla oratio*, ed. D. H. Berry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 246–7; on Sittius, see infra, pp. 56–7). Sallust, in *Jugurtha* 16.5, 19.4, and 62.7, writing later than Cicero, used "Mauretania" in the context of the latter part of the second century BC, and Livy (29.30.1) used the term in describing the events of the previous century. On the early use of the toponym, see S. Weinstock, "Mauretania," *RE* 14, 1930, 2348–51. As is so often the case, an original ethnic term became a toponym. "Morocco" is derived from Mauretania, and probably represents direct continuity, but the modern country of Mauretania, to the south in the desert, is a colonial creation of 1904 having no relationship to ancient Mauretania, and indeed its territory, except for its short coastline, was outside the limits of all but the vaguest ancient geographical knowledge.

2 *NH* 5.21. As is made clear at 5.9, this is from the map of Marcus Agrippa. See Pliny (ed. Desanges), pp. 109, 186–8.

3 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 92.5. Although some have suggested that the Muluccha is the modern Kiss, the present boundary between Morocco and Algeria (see Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 76), it is more likely the Moulouya, the next stream to the west (G. M. Paul, *A Historical Commentary on Sallust's "Bellum Jugurthinum"* [Liverpool 1984, pp. 78–9], which in modern times was the border between Spanish Morocco and Morocco proper. The mouths of the two streams are merely 15 km apart, but because the Kiss flows northwest and the Moulouya flows northeast, the territory between them (the modern Beni Snassan) is substantial. Not only does the Moulouya seem to preserve the ancient name, it is a major stream whose source is in the mountains 300 km inland near modern Midelt. The Kiss, however, is only 25 km in length. See also René Rebuffat, "Notes sur les confins de la Maurétanie Tingitane et de la Maurétanie Césarienne," *StMagr* 4, 1971, 45–6; Raymond Thouvenot, "Le Géographe Ptolémée et la jonction terrestre des deux Maurétanies," *RÉA* 64, 1962, 82–8.

Map 1 Northwest Africa, 146–46 BC

steadily extended the territory to the east. By the time of Juba II, "Mauretania" generally denoted all of coastal North Africa west of the Roman provinces, although terminology is not consistent and the eastern portions were historically part of Numidia.[4] Owing to the imprecise frontiers inherent in territories of transient population, Numidia had overlapped both Carthaginian and Mauretanian territory, but was centered around the fortress city of Cirta, probably modern Constantine in Algeria, which from the third to the mid-first century BC was the major seat of the Numidian kings.[5]

With the fall of Carthage in 146 BC and the making of its territory into a Roman province, and then with the reduction of the Numidian kingdom when Jugurtha was defeated in 105 BC, Mauretania came to be defined as everything west of the Ampsaga River[6] (probably the modern el-Kebir),[7] although as long as the kingdom survived, it continued to overlap both eastern Mauretania and western provincial Africa; these ill-defined borders were a major cause of the wars between Rome and the indigenous population. With the end of an independent Numidia in 46 BC, its lands were partitioned, the eastern portions becoming Roman and the western Mauretanian. Even at this time the territorial limits of Mauretania remained imprecise, as scattered Roman enclaves existed both in the east (near the boundary of Africa) and in the west (across from Spain). Largely because of the transhumant character of much of its population, northern Africa lacked the defined frontiers of much of the rest of the Roman world, a continuing problem for both ancient and modern topographers.

The major city of eastern Mauretania was Iol, originally a Carthaginian outpost and later a royal seat of a native dynasty.[8] Eventually, as Caesarea, it was the capital of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene. According to the map of Marcus Agrippa, it was 322 miles west of the eastern boundary of Mauretania.[9] Far to the west lay the traditional Mauretanian capital, Volubilis. More isolated and less known than Iol, in large part owing to its inland location, its origins are obscure but it was to become a major trading center,

1 "Numidia" is descriptive rather than toponymic, derived from Greek νομάς, "one who roams around for pasture" (LSJ), first used by Herodotos (1.15, etc.) to describe a variety of nomadic peoples including those of North Africa (4.187). Polybios (1.19.3, etc.) used it as an ethnic term; the first to use it as a toponym was Sallust (*Jugurtha* 8.1).

5 Livy 29.32.14; 30.12.5.

6 Pomponius Mela 1.30; *NH* 5.22. Strabo's placement of the boundary farther west at Salda (17.3.12) seems an error (Gsell, vol. 8, p. 212) and may reflect the heresay nature of his information, although he himself noted that the territory was divided in different ways at different times.

7 El Kebir is the easternmost watercourse in modern Algeria, flowing out of the mountains from a source near Souk-Ahras and entering the Mediterranean just east of Annaba, ancient Hippo. The modern Tunisian–Algerian border approximates the Numidian–Mauretanian boundary of 105–46 BC, which then became the Roman–Mauretanian border.

8 On the early history of Iol, see Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 9–13.

9 *NH* 5.21.

especially with Roman Spain, and the western royal city of the client monarchy.[10]

Thus Mauretania was a long, narrow territory – Iol and Volubilis are 800 km apart and population in between was scant – with many unique characteristics. To the Romans it seemed especially arid, home to lions and full of desolate, unpopulated plains where the sun was unusually close to the earth, all of which gave the area an exotic quality.[11] The physical geography

10 On the origins of Volubilis, see Jodin, *Volubilis*, pp. 21–32.

11 Horace, *Ode* 1.22.9–22:

> While I was singing of Lalage, wandering beyond my property in the Sabine woods, free of care and unarmed, a wolf fled from me, not a monster such as that nourished in the broad oaks of martial Daunia or raised in the Juban land, dry nurse of lions. Put me on the wearisome plains where no tree is revived by a summer breeze, and the expanse of the world is oppressed by clouds and an unpleasant sky. Put me under the chariot of the sun where it is too close to an uninhabitable earth.
>
> namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
> dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
> terminum curis vagor expeditis,
> fugit inermem;
> quale portentum neque militaris
> Daunias latis alit aesculetis
> nec Iubae tellus generat, leonum
> arida nutrix.
> pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
> arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
> quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
> Iuppiter urget;
> pone sub curru nimium propinqui
> solis in terra domibus negata.

If this refers to Juba II and not his father, and if, as generally assumed, it was published in late 23 BC (see R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970], pp. xxxv–xxxvii), this is the earliest mention by name of the king.

Remarkably similar sentiments were expressed by Vitruvius (8.3.24) in his description of the palace of Juba I at Zama:

> Moreover, Zama is a city of Africa, whose fortifications King Juba surrounded with a double wall, and where he chose the site of his palace. . . . Although Africa is the parent and nurse of wild beasts, especially snakes, none grows in the fields of this city.
>
> Etiamque Zama est civitas Afrorum, cuius moenia rex Iuba duplici muro saepsit ibique regium domum siti constituit. . . . cum esset enim Africa parens et nutrix ferarum bestiarum, maxime serpentium, in eius agris oppidi nulla nascitur.

The similarity between the passages might be an argument for assuming Horace meant Juba I, but it is just as possible that Vitruvius filled out his description by imitating Horace even if the latter referred to Juba II. Regardless of who influenced whom – and it is more likely that the technical writer borrowed from the poet than the reverse – both demonstrate the topicality in the early Augustan period of North African imagery. On the relationship between the two passages, see Erik Wistrand, "Till två Horatiusställen," *Eranos* 39, 1931, 81–6. Snakes became part of the Roman conception of North Africa, most notably in Lucan's description of the epic journey of Cato across Libya after Pharsalos (9.294–949; see Matthew Leigh, *Lucan: Spectacle and Engagement* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], pp. 265–82).

of Mauretania supports this poetic image,[12] as it is indeed a land of hot, dry plains divided by rugged mountains. Throughout the extent of Mauretania, the Atlas Mountains roughly parallel the coast and cut it off from the desert interior. In the east they are relatively low and close to the coast, rarely rising above 2,000 m. Further west they are more inland (as the coast curves to the north) and become higher and more precipitous, culminating in Mount Atlas, modern Jebel Toubkhal, at 4,167 m the highest point in Africa north of the Sahara. Its precipitous quality is emphasized by its position less than 200 km from the Atlantic.

Another range of mountains, the Rif, lies to the north of the Atlas in eastern Morocco and hugs the coast, curving to the northwest toward the Strait of Gibraltar: Jebel Musa, the southern Pillar of Herakles, is the northernmost point of the range, but the Rif Mountains are effectively continued in Spain by Gibraltar itself and the mountains of Andalusia. The Rif cuts Mauretania into two parts, each more easily in contact with Europe than with each other. To the east is the rugged coast of modern Algeria, in Roman and earlier times centering on Iol–Caesarea and cut off from the interior plateaus by the mountains. To the west, beyond the Rif, and accessible by land only through passes between the southernmost Rif and the Atlas, are the plains of modern Morocco, whose natural communication is north into Spain, since the Rif inhibits movement to the east. In Roman times population was heaviest in a line extending almost due south from Tingis, at the Pillars of Herakles, to Volubilis, a strip of approximately 225 km. To the southwest, the limits of the plain are marked by foothills of the Atlas that reach the coast between modern Rabat and Casablanca.

The Atlas isolates Mauretania from both the interior of Africa and the further Atlantic coast, and thus forces the territory to look toward Europe. South of the mountains is the desert, *deserta ardentia*, as Juba called it,[13] a barrier to travel then as now. Although the Greco-Roman world had long known that it could be crossed, and that great rivers and tropical flora and fauna lay beyond,[14] the desert remained a major obstacle, penetrated regularly only by the camel caravans that brought central African goods to the Mediterranean.[15]

12 For the physical geography, see M. Cary, *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 220–9; A. N. Sherwin-White, "Geographical Factors in Roman Algeria," *JRS* 34, 1944, 1–10; also Weinstock (supra note 1), pp. 2344–86. A general discussion of the region in antiquity is by Jérôme Carcopino, *Le Maroc antique*, third edition (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), although scanty on the period of Juba II; see also Luis A. García Moreno, "La República romana tardía y el conocimiento geográfico y etnográfico de Africa," *AfrRom* 11, n.d., 319–26; *BAGRW*, maps 28–30.

13 *NH* 5.51 = Juba, fr. 38. Juba's original Greek was translated into Latin by Pliny.

14 Herodotos 2.30–2.

15 These caravans remain the only land transportation across the Sahara, all colonial and later schemes at building railways and highways having failed. A famous sign at Zagora, on the Draa River in southern Morocco at the northern edge of the desert, reports that it is fifty-two days by camel to Timbuctu.

Ancient Mauretania, then, extended over 1,600 km of coastline but with its populated areas never more than 150 km inland, and, especially in the east, was limited to a thin coastal strip and a few small interior valleys. Moreover, because of the nature of the mountains, population was separated into two distinct regions: one on the coast near Iol, in modern Algeria, and the other far to the west along the Tingis–Volubilis axis, in modern Morocco. As might be expected, Iol was influenced by the Carthaginian (subsequently Roman) territories to its east, but the Tingis–Volubilis region, separated from Iol by rugged mountains, became virtually an extension of Roman Spain: even today, Spanish culture remains strong in modern Morocco, as toponyms such as "Casablanca" demonstrate.

The two pockets of historic population are typically Mediterranean in aspect. Iol–Caesarea is situated where the mountains are narrowest: their southern edge is less than 100 km due south of the coast where the high plateaus (averaging around 1,000 m in elevation) of the northern Sahara begin. The terrain is rugged at Iol: the Massif de Dahra rises to 1,415 m less than 20 km south of the city and there is virtually no coastal plain. It is a strange and isolated location for a major city: settlement was perhaps originally due to the presence of a small island just offshore that provided protection for ships, a rare sheltered point along this rugged coast, known today as the Corniche des Dahra. In many ways, Iol was the western outpost of North African civilization: to the east, where the mountains consist of many parallel ranges separating fertile valleys, the traditional heartland of Numidia and Carthage, population density was high in all periods. To the west of Iol, however, the rugged coast continues with few breaks for nearly 300 km until one reaches the Gulf of Arzew and the site near Bettioua traditionally identified as Portus Magnus.[16] Even beyond this point, settlement was limited for nearly another 100 km until Siga,[17] the important regional center of the chieftain Syphax in the late third century BC. Siga, at the mouth of the Tafna, is itself isolated, but to the west, as the coast turns in a more northerly direction, the Atlas Mountains and coast diverge and Mauretania proper begins.

This original territory of Mauretania consists of the area from Tingis at the Pillars of Herakles to Volubilis, 225 km to the south, and west 120 km to Sala on the coast. This creates a triangular region of approximately 15,000 sq. km bounded by the Rif on the east, the Atlas foothills on the south and southwest, and the Atlantic on the northwest, described by modern geographers as a peninsula.[18] The district is a fertile coastal plain

16 Jean Lassus, "Le Site de Saint-Leu, *Portus Magnus* (Oran)," *CRAI* 1956, pp. 285–93; *BAGRW*, map 29.

17 P.-A. Février, "Siga," *PECS*, p. 838.

18 Albert André, "Introduction à le géographie physique de la Peninsule tingitane," *RGM* 19, 1971, 57–75, a good summary of the physical geography of the region.

watered by several rivers flowing toward the Atlantic from sources in the mountains.[19] Although none is particularly lengthy – the longest, the Sebou, originates in the eastern Rif barely 300 km from the Atlantic – all are unusually deep and full, especially at the time of snowmelt. The rivers create lush bottomlands that are almost tropical and were prime places for settlement, especially for Roman veterans' colonies. Between the river bottoms are upland steppes at elevations of up to 1,000 m that are barren today, or occasionally planted with cereals. Volubilis itself lies on one of these, the plain of Jebel Zerhoun, at approximately 500 m elevation, near the source of the Khoumane, one of the southern affluents of the Sebou.

The Mediterranean qualities of the region are less prominent along the Atlantic coast, where cooler temperatures and frequent fogs are common. This made the coast less desirable for settlement, and in Greco-Roman times there were only two major towns along 250 km of Atlantic coastline, Lixos and Sala, each at the mouth of the river of the same name.

To the southwest, broken hills rising to over 1,000 m in elevation mark the end of the populated region. The coastal plain is again in evidence beyond these hills, and continues far to the southwest, eventually to be terminated by the Atlas range itself at modern Agadir. But this region was more barren than that to the east, and was essentially outside the populated limits of Greco-Roman culture, although the coast had been explored since at least Carthaginian times. The only settlement of significance in this vast area was the purple dye works at modern Mogador or Essaouira, probably ancient Kerne, over 400 km from Sala and considered in Hellenistic times to be the limit of Mauretania.[20] Still further – nearly 500 km beyond – are the Canary Islands. The closest to land, modern Fuerteventura, lies less than 100 km offshore and is often visible from the mainland. These too had been vaguely known since early times but were first explored in detail and named by Juba II, his most significant contribution to geographical research. Explorers went farther, and indeed Carthaginians and Greeks circumnavigated Africa, but the Canaries remained the extremity of the Greco-Roman world: they lie closer to South America than to Asia Minor.

Although extreme western Africa had long been famed to Greeks as the location of the Garden of the Hesperides,[21] little specific information on the region existed. The early Carthaginian settlement and exploration[22] was itself not well known to Greeks and Romans until their access to the Carthaginian cultural heritage after that city's destruction: the topographical vagueness of Herodotos' report on Carthaginian exploration in West

19 On the agricultural economy of the region, see Enrique Gozalbes, "Las características agrícolas de la Mauretania Tingitana," *AfrRom* 12, 1998, 343–58.

20 *NH* 6.199. On the identification of Kerne, see infra, Chapter 5, note 160.

21 Infra, p. 196.

22 Infra, pp. 187–9.

Africa is typical.[23] Even western Greeks, such as the Massalians, who touched the Mauretanian coast, kept their explorations secret for internal strategic reasons.[24] Greeks from Euboia and Boiotia may also have reached the region, as is demonstrated by toponyms such as Kephisis[25] and even Iol,[26] but their settlement, if it existed at all, was sporadic and almost forgotten.

Occasionally some awareness of Mauretania and its inhabitants penetrated into the Greco-Roman world, usually when Mauretanians became involved in Carthaginian wars with the western Greek states and, later, Rome. Mauretanians were allied with Carthage as early as 406 BC when an expedition was made to Sicily,[27] and during the First Punic War the Mauretanians were punished for their friendliness to M. Atilius Regulus, the Roman commander.[28] A chieftain, Baga – the first Mauretanian known by name – was wealthy enough during the Second Punic War to give Massinissa an escort of 4,000 men across Mauretania to the Numidian border, when Massinissa was in the process of successfully seizing the throne of Numidia.[29] How Baga was related to the later Mauretanian ruling dynasty is not known, but his wealth and power make it clear that he was a prominent leader: Livy called him, perhaps somewhat anachronistically, "rex Maurorum." Yet one can see why Sallust wrote that Mauretania was known by name to the Romans long before there was direct contact,[30] and why it remained a vaguely comprehended extremity of the world until the fall of Carthage opened up the western Mediterranean to Rome. At that time, Italian commercial and mercantile interests flowed into North Africa.[31] For example, at Cirta, the Numidian capital, there came to be a substantial group of Italian *negotiatores*:[32] these were deeply involved in the defense of the city against Jugurtha, and their "massacre" was a major cause of the Jugurthine war. One

23 Herodotos 4.42. Hekataios (*FGrHist* #1, fr. 355) may have cited at least one Mauretanian toponym, Λίζας (Lixos), but this is highly speculative (see Jehan Desanges, "Lixos dans les sources littéraires grecques et latines," *Lixus*, p. 3).

24 Infra, pp. 188–9.

25 Skylax (*GGM*) 112m; *NH* 37.37.

26 On these and other possible central Greek toponyms in Mauretania, see Michel Gras, "La Mémoire de Lixus. De la fondation de Lixus aux premiers rapports entre Grecs et Phéniciens en Afrique du Nord," *Lixus*, pp. 37–41.

27 Diodoros 13.80.3.

28 Orosius 4.9.

29 Livy 29.30.1; Gsell, vol. 3, p. 175.

30 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 19.7.

31 L. A. Thompson, "Settler and Native in the Urban Centres of Roman Africa," in *Africa in Classical Antiquity: Nine Studies*, ed. L. A. Thompson and J. Ferguson (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1969, pp. 133–6); see also the apt description of the process of Roman immigration by A. J. N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), pp. 42–54; and Tenney Frank, "The Inscriptions of the Imperial Domains of Africa," *AJP* 47, 1926, 55–73.

32 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 21, 26. On the term, see Paul (supra note 3), p. 87.

expects that a similar community existed at Iol, whose coastal position made it even more accessible to Italy.

In Mauretania proper, Italian contacts were even more widespread.[33] The Roman acquisition of Spain after the Second Punic War had brought Roman territory to within a short distance. The ancient trading center of Tingis served as the port of entry (Figure 14, p. 136). Famed as a foundation of the giant Antaios,[34] it was actually one of the earliest Phoenician outposts, established by the eighth century BC on the western edge of a sheltered bay facing the southern Pillar of Herakles, immediately opposite the Spanish coast. Its location at the natural crossing between Africa and Europe meant that contact with Spain was early and frequent: by the second century BC, direct trade with Rome was an essential part of the local economy, but the specifics of this trade, and exactly who was involved in it, remain difficult to determine.[35] Trade penetrated to the interior, to Lixos and eventually to Volubilis, no later than the end of the second century BC,[36] although it is probable that there were Roman contacts with western Mauretania well before that time.[37] The primary commodities were olives and fish products, which would become the major exports at the time of Juba II.[38] By the late second century BC, Roman interests were so strong that portions of Mauretania could even be described as Roman territory, although this was clearly a cultural, not a legal, definition.

33 Mohamed Majdoub, "La Maurétanie et ses relations commerciales avec le monde romain jusqu'au I^er^ s. av. J.-C.," *AfrRom* 11, n.d., 291–302; Laurent Callegarin, "La Maurétanie de l'ouest et Rome au I^er^ siècle av. J.-C.: approche amphorologique," *AfrRom* 13, 2000, 1333–62.

34 *NH* 5.2.

35 Michel Ponsich, "Tangier antique," *ANRW* 2.10.2, 1982, 788–803; Antoinette Hesnard and Maurice Lenoir, "Les Négociants italiens en Maurétanie avant l'annexion (résumé)," *BAC* n.s. 19b, 1983 (1985), 49–51.

36 Jodin, *Volubilis*, pp. 301–2. In the reverse direction, traders from Volubilis went as far as the Magdalensberg, near Klagenfurt in Austria. The Magdalensberg included an extensive settlement of merchants, established by the early first century BC, who traded with the local Keltic inhabitants of Noricum. It may have been the chief city of the district, Noreia (Caesar, *Bellum gallicum* 1.5; Strabo 5.1.8; *NH* 3.131; on its identification with the Magdalensberg, see Géza Alföldy, *Noricum*, tr. Anthony Birley [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974], pp. 47–51). The major export product was iron, both raw and worked. Many of the merchants left their names and hometowns as graffiti: all that are extant are Italian (from Aquileia to Lucania) except two from Volubilis, Surulus and Orosius Rullus, who may have visited Noricum several times (Alföldy, pp. 73–4). See Rudolf Egger, *Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg: Ein Grosshandelsplatz*, DenkschrWien 79 (Vienna 1961), nos. 67, 69, 81, 127, 141, 215, 218, 237, 332, 334 (nos. 81 and 218 identify them as from Volubilis); Raymond Thouvenot, "Deux commerçants volubilitains dans le Norique," *BCTH* 8b, 1972 (1975), 28–32. The date of the Volubilitan traders is not certain, although it may be as early as the beginning of the first century BC.

37 A Lusitanian incursion into Mauretania in 153 BC and the pursuit and defeat of them by the praetor L. Mummius (consul in 146 BC), for which he gained a triumph, indicates that there were already Roman interests in this region before the fall of Carthage (Appian, *Iberika* 57).

38 Mauretanian foods were on the dinner tables of wealthy Romans by early in the first century BC (Macrobius, *Satires* 3.13 = Sallust, *Histories* 2.59 [ed. McGushin]).

According to Sallust, King Bocchus I ruled all the Mauri at the time of the war with Jugurtha.[39] Yet despite his use of an ethnic rather than a geographical term, Sallust's statement can be taken literally, as in the second century BC. Mauretania was still limited to the territory west of the Muluccha.[40] That Bocchus' capital was originally at Volubilis can be shown from the first known event of his career, his encounter with Eudoxos of Kyzikos, the great explorer who opened up the route between the Mediterranean and India. Shortly after 116 BC Eudoxos attempted to reach India by sailing west into the Atlantic, but he abandoned his voyage somewhere near the kingdom of Bocchus, and then went by foot to the royal court. He was not well received, and fled to Roman territory and then to Spain.[41] Thus the court of Bocchus was inland (eliminating Iol), near Roman-held territory that was near to, but was not, Spain. Volubilis seems the only place that Eudoxos could have encountered Bocchus' court.[42]

As the first powerful ruler of a (theoretically) unified Mauretania,[43] Bocchus was in a position to play a significant role in contemporary events. His date of accession is not known: he was already on the throne before the death of Micipsa of Numidia in 118 BC.[44] Shortly after his hostile reception of Eudoxos, he became entangled in the Roman war with Jugurtha. Sallust's *Jugurtha*, the only significant source, presents a finely drawn portrait of a barbarian king at the threshold of romanization, trying desperately to preserve his own interests in the face of overwhelming Roman power that threatened to submerge his needs. Bocchus was drawn into the war unwillingly and then had to decide how he would proceed and how Rome could be used to his own advantage, yet he needed to ensure that it would not destroy him as it was seeking to destroy Jugurtha.[45]

After an attempt to remain neutral, Bocchus became involved by 109 BC, when refugees and deserters began showing up at his court.[46] Unable to continue ignoring circumstances of which he must have been long aware, he began to play a cautious double game, concluding a marriage alliance with

39 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 19.7; Eliman Klebs, "Bocchus" (#1), *RE* 3, 1899, 577–8; Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 201–70; Weinstock (supra note 1), pp. 2366–8; Gabriel Camps, "Bocchus," *EB* 10, 1991, 1544–5. On his official relationship with Rome and its ruling elite, see Michèle Coltelloni-Trannoy, "Les Liens de clientèle en Afrique du Nord, du II[e] siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'au début du principat," *BAC* n.s. 24b, 1993–5 (1997), 62–4.

40 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 110.8.

41 Strabo 2.3.4–5; see further, infra, pp. 228–30.

42 Jodin, *Volubilis*, pp. 303–4.

43 He described himself to Sulla as "the most important king in this land and of all kings that I have known" ("rex maxumus in hac terra et omnium quos novi"), Sallust, *Jugurtha* 110.1.

44 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 110; Micipsa's death date is provided by Livy, *Epitome* 62.

45 Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 79–85. On Bocchus and Jugurtha, see Arthur Keaveney, *Sulla: the Last Republican* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 16–24.

46 Plutarch, *Marius* 10; Sallust, *Jugurtha* 62.7, 74.

Jugurtha[47] and simultaneously sending envoys to Rome. His attempt to establish a relationship with Rome was unsuccessful, allegedly because his ambassadors did not have sufficient bribes. But the affections of Bocchus became the topical issue of the moment: Jugurtha bribed Bocchus' inner circle, promised him Numidian territory, and tried to influence him with anti-Roman rhetoric. The Roman commander, Q. Caecilius Metellus, also sought an alliance with Bocchus. Moreover, the king was sending private messages asserting his loyalty to Metellus' subordinate C. Marius. But before long Jugurtha requested military aid from Bocchus, who agreed and attacked Marius. When Marius defeated both kings near Cirta, Bocchus opened further secret negotiations with the Romans.[48] Marius sent his quaestor L. Cornelius Sulla to cultivate a relationship. Still ambivalent, Bocchus was not certain who to betray to whom, but Sulla kept up subtle pressure, pointing out that Rome would be extremely grateful if Bocchus betrayed Jugurtha, an indication that Roman offers of alliance and friendship carried significant weight among foreign kings.[49] Sulla also held out the powerful temptation of territorial acquisition, once promised somewhat less realistically by Jugurtha.[50] Although still publicly friendly to Jugurtha, Bocchus trapped him and gave him to Sulla.[51] His reward was nominal control of the territory from the Muluccha east to the Roman provincial boundary, although the eastern portions overlapped the continuing and reduced Numidian kingdom.

Sulla felt that his handling of Bocchus was what had made his reputation.[52] He seems to have maintained close contact with the king for many years and probably insured official Roman recognition of his kingship and territorial acquisitions. Bocchus provided Sulla with 100 lions and *iaculatores* for a combat during his praetorship.[53] And it may have been Sulla who encouraged Bocchus to memorialize in sculpture at Rome the surrender of Jugurtha and obtained permission for the monument. Bocchus wanted to show not only favor to the Romans in return for his official designation as an

47 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 80; the text, however, is uncertain: either Bocchus married Jugurtha's daughter, or Bocchus' daughter married Jugurtha. Later sources, such as Plutarch (*Marius* 10, *Sulla* 3), explicitly make Bocchus the son-in-law, but they are derived from Sallust's text, and thus the matter remains unresolved. See Weinstock (supra note 1), pp. 2366–7; Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 212–13; Paul (supra note 3), p. 201.

48 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 80–102.

49 On Bocchus' relationship with Rome, see Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 113–16.

50 Paul (supra note 3), p. 246. Bocchus' territory was still limited to west of the Muluccha: in fact, as late as the closing days of the war he was promising Sulla that he would not go east of the river (Sallust, *Jugurtha* 110.8).

51 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 101–13; Livy, *Epitome* 66; Velleius 2.12.1; Plutarch, *Sulla* 3; *Marius* 10; Appian, *Noumidika*; Dio, fr. 89.5.6.

52 Plutarch, *Sulla* 3, where it is clear that the source is the memoirs of Sulla.

53 Seneca, *On the Shortness of Life* 13.6; *NH* 8.53. The date of Sulla's praetorship has long been argued: the most recent study convincingly places it in 97 BC (T. Corey Brennan, "Sulla's Career in the Nineties: Some Reconsiderations," *Chiron* 2, 1992, 132–7).

ally, but also his respect for Sulla, and thus in 91 BC he dedicated on the Roman Capitol both Nikes holding trophies and a scene of gilded figures showing his handing of Jugurtha over to Sulla.[54] The importance of this dedication – and the permission to make it, which had to be granted by the Senate – cannot be overestimated. Such royal dedications had had a sporadic history since Rome first came into contact with barbarian royalty, and their location on the Capitol connected those who made them with the spiritual center of Rome.[55] Massinissa of Numidia well knew this when he requested permission to sacrifice at the Capitoline Temple of Juppiter in 168 BC, something that a nervous Senate declined to authorize.[56] In the late Republic, dedications and ceremonies at the Capitol came to be seen as the ultimate symbol of alliance and friendship between Rome and the kings:[57] it was here that Herod the Great's appointment as king would be officially affirmed.[58] As Bocchus understood perfectly, for a king to have some recognition on the Capitol was the highest level of Roman support. Generally, the physical evidence for these dedications is limited, but some remnants of the Bocchus monument seem to survive,[59] and it probably was the prototype for coins issued by Sulla's son Faustus Cornelius Sulla. These, from 56 BC, show the elder Sulla seated on a raised throne, facing left. To the left is Bocchus, facing right (toward Sulla) and kneeling, raising an olive branch. To the right is Jugurtha, kneeling and facing left, with his hands tied behind his back.[60]

54 Plutarch, *Sulla* 6.1–2; *Marius* 32; E. Badian, *Lucius Sulla, the Deadly Reformer* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1970, pp. 11–12). The date is certain because it was just before the outbreak of the Social War. But it also is peculiar, coming fourteen years after the surrender. It may represent the time of a formal treaty of friendship between Rome and Bocchus, or perhaps an event in Bocchus' reign, perhaps his twenty-fifth anniversary, or may simply reflect the fact that it took that long for Sulla, Bocchus' advocate in Rome, to reach a position powerful enough that Senate approval would be granted. The dedication also served Sulla's own purposes in conspicuously slighting his rival Marius.

55 Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 32; David C. Braund, "Client Kings," in *The Administration of the Roman Empire (241 BC–AD 193)*, ed. David C. Braund, Exeter Studies in History 18, 1988, pp. 78–9. Sulla was particularly interested in making the Capitol a monument to Rome's relations with foreign royalty, and may have created a specific precinct for the dedications, as part of the rebuilding necessary after the Temple of Juppiter burned in 83 BC. See Ronald Mellor, "The Dedications on the Capitoline Hill," *Chiron* 8, 1978, 328–30.

56 Livy 45.13.17–14.4.

57 See Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.4.66–7, where the Seleukid prince Antiochos intended to make a dedication on the Capitol; see also Cicero, *Pro C. Rabirio Postumo* 6, for a similar case.

58 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14.379–89.

59 Th. Schäfer, "Das Siegesdenkmal vom Kapitol," *Numider*, pp. 243–50, pl. 53–5. These are the familiar reliefs of victories and trophies now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (nos. 2749–52) and in Vienna (Kunsthistorischesmuseum no. 1576).

60 Michael H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), no. 426.1; Lydia H. Lenaghan, "Hercules Melqart on a Coin of Faustus Sulla," *ANSMN* 11, 1964, 131–6; *Numider*, pl. 146. The elder Sulla's signet ring may also have been a prototype.

No further events are known from Bocchus' career, as his affairs dropped from the interest of Roman historians. Even the Capitol memorial was remembered not because of Bocchus or Jugurtha but because of its role in the quarrel between Marius and Sulla. Bocchus' acquisition of western Numidia allowed him to develop Iol as a second capital, creating a territorial duality to Mauretania that has lasted to modern times. He may have remained on the throne until around 81 BC, but this is based on a single late and ambiguous source.[61] Although at least two sons are known, their destinies are uncertain. Volux fought alongside his father in the Jugurthine War, not particularly effectively, and indeed in such a manner that he was almost executed for treason by the Romans.[62] He may not have survived long. Another son, Bogudes (I), was said to have been involved in the defeat of the Numidian usurper Hiarbas in 81 BC but is otherwise unknown.[63]

Mauretanian affairs again entered Roman consciousness with the intrigues of Q. Sertorius.[64] One of the more unusual episodes in his strange career was the time he spent in Mauretania in 81–80 BC[65] hiding from Sulla, who was at the height of his power as dictator of Rome.[66] Sertorius was in command of Hispania Citerior when he learned of Sulla's dictatorship, which made his legal position tenuous and endangered his life. When an army crossed the Pyrenees to oppose him, he embarked from Carthago Nova with three thousand men and fled to Mauretania.[67] Promptly driven out by the Mauretanians and suffering great losses, he was prevented from return-

61 Orosius 5.21; Gsell, vol. 7, p. 269; Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 76.

62 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 101–7; Hans Gundel, "Volux," *RE* 2, ser. 9, 1961, 907–8; Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 253–4. His name may be the same as that of the eponym of Volubilis (Jodin, *Volubilis*, pp. 305–6).

63 Orosius 5.21, the only reference. Bogudes provides a possible connection with the Numidian royal family, since Massinissa had a son of that name: see J.-A. Février, "L'Inscription funéraire de Micipsa," *RAssyr* 45, 1951, 139–50, although for chronological reasons it is almost impossible that the two are the same; see Appendix 2. It is also unlikely that this is the well-known Bogudes II (infra, pp. 57–8): since he survived until 31 BC it would mean an unusually long career, and, moreover, nowhere is he styled as a son of Bocchus, which would be improbable for the son of such a famous father.

64 On Sertorius, see the detailed study by Philip O. Spann, *Quintus Sertorius and the Legacy of Sulla* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1987), which, however, must be used with caution; C. F. Konrad, *Plutarch's Sertorius: A Historical Commentary* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Piero Treves, "Sertorio," *Athenaeum* n.s. 10, 1932, 127–47; A. Schulten, "Q. Sertorius" (#3), *RE* 2, ser. 2, 1923, 1746–53.

65 Barbara Scardigli, "Sertorio: problemi cronologici," *Athenaeum* n.s. 49, 1971, 244–51. Konrad (supra note 64), p. 111, dated the entire episode to 80 BC. Although the exact dates are of relevance in understanding contemporary Roman history, they add little to the vague knowledge of events in Mauretania.

66 The source is almost entirely Plutarch, *Sertorius* 7–10. A few fragments of the *Histories* of Sallust (1.87–94 McGushin), certainly one of Plutarch's main sources, add some information; see also Strabo 17.3.8 (from Tanusius Geminus, on whom see Konrad [supra note 64], p. xlv); Ronald Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 193–4.

67 The geographical details of Sertorius' wanderings are detailed by Spann (supra note 64), pp. 48–51.

ing to Spain. Enlisting the aid of Kilikian pirates,[68] he landed on Pityoussa, one of the Balearic islands, from which he was also expelled. Thus finding much of the western Mediterranean closed to him, he sailed with his Kilikian entourage past the Pillars of Herakles and landed on the Atlantic coast of Spain. Here he encountered sailors who told him about the Islands of the Blessed in the Atlantic,[69] describing them in such idyllic terms that Sertorius was strongly tempted to take up a quiet retirement there. The Kilikians, however, had no such ambition and went to Mauretania to involve themselves in a dispute regarding a certain Askalis, son of Iphtha, who had been deposed, allegedly from the Mauretanian throne. Modern ignorance of the contemporary political situation in Mauretania makes it almost impossible to understand why the pirates chose to help restore the king, or why Sertorius soon decided to join the dispute on the side opposing Askalis. But it may be that he saw this as a way to assert his power against his nemesis Sulla, who had sent an army to aid Askalis. Sertorius defeated both Askalis and the Romans, incorporated the survivors into his own force, and besieged and soon captured Tingis, Askalis' base, establishing himself as ruler of that city. The sizable Italian mercantile colony might well have welcomed a compatriot. Sertorius now considered himself in control of all Mauretania (πάντων ἐγκρατής) and ruled wisely and justly, presumably for several months.[70] Then he was summoned by the Lusitanians to be their commander against Rome. Although it was a difficult decision, he saw a

68 Kilikian piracy was at its peak in these years, with the collapse of Seleukid control of coastal Kilikia and the failure, as yet, of Rome to deal effectively with the issue: the pirates were always anxious to assist those opposed to Roman power (see Plutarch, *Pompeius* 24, a summary of the effects of piracy at this time). Literary sources, however, often use "Kilikian" generically when discussing pirates: see Konrad (supra note 64), pp. 102–3. A useful, although old, survey of Kilikian piracy is Henry A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, reprint (Chicago: Argonaut, 1967), pp. 190–247; a good recent bibliography on ancient piracy appears in David C. Braund, "Piracy under the Principate and the Ideology of Imperial Eradication," in *War and Society in the Roman World*, ed. John Rich and Graham Shipley (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 210–12, supplemented by Philip De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), who stressed (pp. 132–3) that Sertorius' involvement with the pirates was used by Plutarch as a moral paradigm for the decline in his fortunes. Yet the recent memory of piracy in these waters may have influenced Augustus' feeling fifty years later that Mauretania needed a strong Roman presence.

69 See also Sallust, *Histories* 1.90 (McGushin). The description best fits Madeira's two largest islands, Madeira and Porto Santo (Konrad [supra note 64], pp. 106–7; Paul T. Keyser, "From Myth to Map: The Blessed Isles in the First Century BC," *AncW* 26, 1993, 157–61), but one should not be too precise with sailors' tales. Madeira had been known to the Greco-Roman world since at least the third century BC (Timaios [*FGrHist* #566] fr. 164 = Diodoros 5.19–20). For the argument (largely refuted by Konrad) that the Canaries are meant, see Philip O. Spann, "Sallust, Plutarch, and the 'Isles of the Blest,'" *TI* 9, 1977, 75–80.

70 During his stay, Sertorius opened up the tomb of the founder of Tingis, Antaios, and was astonished to find that the body was 60 *peches*, or 9 Greek feet, in length. This is one of several tales scattered through Greek and Roman history of opening the tombs of figures from mythology and discovering their enormous stature: the most famous is the account of the bones of Orestes at Tegea in the Peloponnesos (Herodotos 1.67–8). Such episodes are conventionally explained – if such is necessary – as

chance eventually to be restored to legitimacy within the Roman world, and thus abandoned Mauretania, probably early in 80 BC.[71]

This curious episode is both revealing and puzzling regarding the status of Mauretania around 81 BC. By this time North Africa had had a history of receiving disaffected Romans, so Sertorius' choice of it as a refuge is not surprising. If Bocchus I had still been on the throne, as he seems to have been into that year, an opponent of Sulla would not have expected a good reception in the territory, and hence Sertorius' initial expulsion. His retreat into the Atlantic exposed him to the romanticized tales of the Islands of the Blessed that had been circulating in seamen's lore since at least the time of Homer,[72] and it is not difficult to imagine that one whose life had been as erratic as Sertorius' would find such stories attractive.[73] Some years later, Horace, referring directly to Sertorius, would write of the longing "to go wherever our feet take us, wherever the waves, Notus, or bold Africa calls."[74] The Islands of the Blessed were Horace's ideal refuge for those seeking to escape what (in his day) had become a second generation of civil war: "let us seek the fields, the blessed fields, and the islands of abundance," describing them in terms almost identical to those that the sailors had used to tempt Sertorius.[75] Such was part of the mystique of northwest Africa in the late Republic and the early Augustan period.

The most inscrutable part of Sertorius' escapades is his involvement with the enigmatic Askalis, whose territory was localized in the vicinity of Tingis. Otherwise unknown, he is presented in Plutarch's account as one who had been deposed from the Mauretanian throne and was seeking a restoration.[76] His position was supported by Sulla, which means, given Sulla's personal history, that he was probably a vassal of Bocchus I,[77] whose

the discovery of large animal bones or even fossils (see George Huxley, "Bones for Orestes," *GRBS* 20, 1979, 145–8). The Tomb of Antaios is usually associated with Lixos (Strabo 17.3.8), where Antaios had his palace (*NH* 5.2–3), rather than Tingis, but this is a minor point in what clearly was a event staged by Sertorius to create a heroic context that would enhance his status among the citizens of Tingis. Relevant precedents certainly known to Sertorius include the removal of the bones of Theseus to Athens (Plutarch, *Kimon* 8.5–6), and even the circumstances surrounding the body of Alexander the Great (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 12.64).

71 Spann, *Quintus Sertorius* (supra note 64), pp. 54–5.

72 Homer, *Odyssey* 4.563–8.

73 Konrad (supra note 64), pp. 109–10.

74 Horace, *Epode* 16.21–2 ("ire, pedes quocumque ferent, quocumque per undas Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus"). On the poem generally, see Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 42–55; Syme (supra note 66), pp. 284–6.

75 Horace, *Epode* 16.41–2: "arva, beata petamus arva divites et insulas." On Juba II and the Islands of the Blessed, see infra, pp. 196–8.

76 On his position, see Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 107; Scardigli (supra note 65), pp. 246–8; Gabriel Camps, "Ascalis," *EB* 7, 1989, 954.

77 Despite Gsell, vol. 7, p. 271.

recent death may have led to Askalis' overthrow. The issue is complicated by the fact that Askalis is not a North African name, but one that seems Greek, remindful of Askalos, the eponymous founder of the city of Askalon on the coast of Palestine. Although this eponym was known as early as the fifth century BC,[78] it is probably fabricated, but Askalon itself was a center of hellenized Phoenician culture by the late second century BC.[79] It seems plausible that an adventurer from this city could end up as a petty dynast of Tingis at the other end of the Mediterranean.[80] Tingis was itself a city with Hellenic and Phoenician roots, and northwest Africa had become increasingly topical in the Greek world since the second century BC. Thus Askalis was in all likelihood a Levantine adventurer established at Tingis, but subsidiary to Bocchus I. His claim to be king of all Mauretania is exaggerated, but Tingis seems virtually to have been an autonomous petty state.[81] At the time of the death of Bocchus, perhaps midway in 81 BC, Askalis was deposed by his subjects – instability would be a natural result of the death of a king who had been on the throne for at least forty years – and Sulla, indebted to the memory of Bocchus, attempted to restore Askalis to the throne. But like so many situations in North African history it became tangled in the disputes between powerful Romans, and Sertorius, who prevented the restoration, ended up ruler of Tingis itself, the inhabitants already having shown their receptiveness to a foreign ruler.[82] This was hardly "all Mauretania," as he claimed in an exaggeration he had perhaps learned from Askalis, but nevertheless, more than the single city was under his control.[83] Only Sertorius' patriotism kept him from remaining long.

The Askalis episode is demonstrative of the confusion regarding Mauretanian history in the first half of the first century BC. The names of other ruling personalities are known, but it becomes difficult to fit them into a chronologically coherent account, or even to determine the limits of the territory they ruled.[84] Some of this may be due to Roman unfamiliarity with

78 Xanthos of Lydia (*FGrHist* #765), fr. 8.

79 Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 112–28.

80 By the second century AC there were large numbers of Levantines in Mauretania. Although this was in part due to the freedom of movement in imperial times, it might have been the culmination of a tendency originating in the commercial environment of the late Republic. See Maurice Euzennat, "Grecs et Orientaux in Maurétanie Tingitane," *AntAfr* 5, 1971, 161–78.

81 Carcopino (supra note 12), pp. 174–5. The independent status of Tingis (Tangier) has continued sporadically into modern times.

82 Like modern Tangier, ancient Tingis consisted of a mixed population, perhaps with no dominant ethnic group.

83 Plutarch, *Sertorius* 9.5.

84 An example is the case of Magudulsa. He fled to Rome, seemingly to the household of M. Livius Drusus, plebian tribune in 91 BC and great-grandfather of the emperor Tiberius. But Drusus was said to have betrayed Magudulsa because of a bribe from Bocchus and effected his death by means of an elephant (*De viris illustribus* 66), perhaps a slander by Drusus' enemies (Gsell, vol. 7, p. 269; see also Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 101–2). This anecdote cannot be connected with any coherent thread in Maure-

the names, many of which are similar.[85] Other problems may result from the uncertain frontiers and isolated population centers of Mauretania, local chieftains who may have called themselves kings, and other attempts by rulers to exaggerate their position and power.

The last years of Bocchus I, after his Capitol dedication of 91 BC, seemingly were ones of decline. The lack of any strong successor – the ephemeral Bogudes I is the probable candidate – and the Mauretanian tolerance of adventurers such as Askalis and Sertorius show that the old king was severely weakened. Even though Askalis seems to have ruled only as petty king of Tingis and its area, and with Bocchus' consent, his very existence, his claim to be king of all Mauretania, and his own weak hold on power indicate the overall instability of the Mauretanian kingdom at that time. Perhaps Bocchus' acquisition of extensive territory after the fall of Jugurtha and his development of Iol as a second royal seat were destabilizing factors. Bogudes I, if the successor, seems not to have lasted long. It is probable that the following years were obscure and unstable ones for Mauretania, although one must not be misled by the failure of Roman historians to write about areas not currently relevant to their interests. A certain Leptasta emerged in the 70s BC, styled "king," sending an unknown person, charged with treason, from Mauretania to an unknown place. He is cited only in a fragment of Book 2 of Sallust's *Histories*, which covered 77–74 BC; the event may be related to the conflicts between Pompeius and Sertorius in those years, but this is purely hypothetical. Whether Leptasta was the legitimate successor of Bocchus I or Bogudes I, or another petty chieftain in the manner of Askalis, cannot be known.[86]

By the latter part of the first half of the first century BC, Mauretania seems to have been partitioned and under the control of two separate but related rulers, Bocchus II and Bogudes II,[87] whose names indicate their descent from Bocchus I, although the lineage is unknown. The division of Mauretania

tanian history. The single source calls Magudulsa "princeps" of Mauretania: he may be the Magdalses mentioned by Appian (*Noumidika*), a member of the court of Bocchus I and involved in the betrayal of Jugurtha. The date of Magudulsa's flight to Rome is often assumed to be that of Drusus' plebian tribunate but may be earlier (Drusus had been military tribune probably in 105 BC, the year of Jugurtha's surrender: see Broughton, vol. 1, pp. 557–8; vol. 2, pp. 21–2). It cannot be later than 91 BC because Drusus was assassinated that year. Nevertheless, he had a sympathy for African royal refugees: he had provided refuge for Adherbal of Numidia when his fatal quarrel erupted with Jugurtha after 118 BC. Magudulsa may have been a son of Bocchus I, a disfavored member of the royal court, or a petty chieftain in the manner of Askalis. See F. Münzer, "M. Livius Drusus" (#18), *RE* 13, 1926, 871.

85 Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 271–2; Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 83.

86 Sallust, *Histories* 2.93 (McGushin) and p. 12 of the McGushin edition. Leptasta cannot be the same as Iphtha the father of Askalis, despite Gsell, vol. 7, pp. 271–2, Carcopino (supra note 12), pp. 174–5, and Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 79, since he was king in 77 BC or later and Askalis had been deposed by 80 BC, but he may have been a son.

87 *NH* 5.19; Strabo 17.3.7.

between them – Bocchus ruled from Iol[88] and Bogudes from Volubilis[89] – indicates that they were of equal status, cousins or even brothers. Because Mauretania is so easily divided into separate but equal portions, the split was not difficult to accomplish, avoiding the joint rule that was so often disastrous in Numidia. The father of Bocchus II was Sosus, named by his son on his coins.[90] Although Bocchus II did not indicate whether his father had been king, Sosus may have been the Mastanesosus whom P. Vatinius encountered, probably in 62 BC. Cicero, as he questioned Vatinius, described his passage across North Africa: "Were you not in the kingdom of Hiempsal, and then the kingdom of Mastanesosus, and then did you not go across Mauretania to the Straits?"[91] Thus the route is clear: from the Numidian kingdom ruled by Jugurtha's nephew Hiempsal II to the kingdom of Mastanesosus and then through Mauretania (used in its older, more limiting sense) and across the straits into Spain. Mastanesosus, then, ruled at Iol. He may have been an otherwise unknown son of Bocchus I or Bogudes I, perhaps the ruler who divided the kingdom between his two sons.[92]

The earliest evidence for the reign of Bocchus II[93] is the arrival in eastern Mauretania of yet another dispossessed Roman, P. Sittius.[94] From Nuceria in Campania, he had developed significant commercial interests in Mauretania, probably in the manner of the *negotiatores* who had been in the territory for some time. Before 64 BC he became a trading partner with the king of Mauretania.[95] No name is provided but it is probable that it was Bocchus II, given their later intimacy. His investments seem to have been in African grain, and he ended up heavily in debt[96] and was made a scapegoat for the high import prices of the commodity, standing trial twice, on one occasion being defended by Cicero.[97] His Italian possessions were eventually sold to cover these debts. When the conspiracy of Q. Sergius Catalina was uncovered in 63 BC, Sittius was suspected of complicity, seemingly on little

88 Solinus 25.16; Pomponius Mela 1.29.

89 He may also have used Lixos as a royal seat, which flourished with fine art at this time (Jodin, *Volubilis*, p. 312).

90 Infra, p. 94.

91 Cicero, *In Vatinium* 12: "in regno Hiempsalis, fuerisne in regno Mastanesosi, venerisne ad fretum per Mauretaniam?"

92 On the problem of identifying the local rulers at this time, see W. Huss, "Die westmassylischen Könige," *AncSoc* 20, 1989, 209–20.

93 On Bocchus II, see Eliman Klebs, "Bocchus" (#2), *RE* 3, 1899, 578–9; Gabriel Camps, "Bocchus," *EB* 10, 1991, 1545–7.

94 On Sittius, see F. Münzer, "P. Sittius" (#3), *RE* 2, ser. 3, 1927, 409–11; Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 54–6; Wilson (supra note 31), pp. 51–3.

95 Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 56: "important financial dealings with the king of Mauretania" ("magna ratione cum Mauretaniae rege contracta").

96 Wilson (supra note 31), p. 52, suggested that he may even have loaned money to the king of Mauretania.

97 Cicero, *Ad familiares* 5.17; see also *De domo sua* 11. But see Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* (ed. Shackleton Bailey), vol. 1, p. 323.

evidence other than that he had been in Mauretania at the time and was said to have been raising an army, an easy charge given the history of Roman adventurers in North Africa.[98] Although it is hard to establish a chronology for Sittius' early career other than this alleged involvement with Catalina,[99] at some undetermined time he abandoned Italy and took up permanent residence in Mauretania. He evidently had an entourage or military force[100] and eventually ended up at the court of Bocchus II.[101] By 46 BC he was commanding part of Bocchus' troops and assisting Julius Caesar in his war against the Pompeians.[102] The intrigues of Sittius provide the only evidence for the early career of Bocchus II, who thus seems to have come to the throne before 64 BC.

Bogudes II's early career is also obscure.[103] At some unspecified date he mounted an expedition along the Atlantic coast, seemingly into the tropics.[104] He returned with gigantic reeds and asparagus; the former he presented to his wife, perhaps the same Eunoë Maura with whom Julius Caesar had an affair.[105] Caesar also lavished presents on both king and queen, which implies that he may have visited the royal court at Volubilis or Lixos. Or he may have encountered Eunoë elsewhere, perhaps if she joined her husband while he campaigned in Spain after Thapsus.[106] Eunoë is a Greek name, and

98 Sallust, *Bellum Catalinae* 21.3; Erich S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, first paperback printing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 285.

99 Cicero's letter to him is undated; commentators have placed it between 57 and 52 BC. It was written shortly after Sittius' second trial, and perhaps in May of 56 BC (Jacques Heurgon, "La Lettre de Cicéron à P. Sittius (Ad Fam., V, 17)," *Latomus* 9, 1950, 369–77), or in the autumn of that year (Cicero, ed. Shackleton Bailey [supra note 97], vol. 1, p. 323).

100 Dio 43.3.1. These may have been remnants of Sertorius' followers (P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C.–A.D. 14*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 164. Appian (*Civil War* 4.54) implied that Sittius spent some time in Mauretania with a substantial force and allying with many different parties.

101 The date of his departure from Italy cannot easily be determined. Cicero's letter may have been written at that time – it refers to abandoning the Republic – but this is not explicit. A series of letters by M. Caelius Rufus to Cicero from the summer of 51 BC (*Ad familiares* 8.2, 4, 8, 9) repeatedly refer to a contract with a certain Sittius, perhaps involving the shipment of panthers and other wild animals to Rome. If this is the Sittius in question, it seems reasonable to assume that Sittius was in Africa by that time, but the identity is by no means certain, and since Cicero was proconsul in Kilikia, this Sittius may have been in the East (which does not rule out P. Sittius of Nuceria). See David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 1251.

102 *De bello africo* 25; supra, p. 35.

103 Eliman Klebs, "Bogudes" (#2), *RE* 3, 1899, 608–9; Gabriel Camps, "Bogud," *EB* 10, 1991, 1557–8.

104 Strabo 17.3.5; his source is an otherwise unknown "Iphikrates," long emended to Hypsikrates, of Amisos, who wrote on history, perhaps in the first century BC (*FGrHist* #190; see Remo Giomini, "Ipsicrate," *Maia* n.s. 8, 1956, 49–55), although it is difficult to connect the other extant fragments with an interest in West Africa (but see fr. 4, on the Ethiopians). Tatian (*Oration to the Greeks* 37) knew of a Hypsikrates who wrote on Phoenician matters.

105 Suetonius, *Julius* 52.

106 Dio 43.36–8.

she probably was a person of stature not only to marry the Mauretanian king but to receive Caesar's interest (Suetonius mentioned her in the same context as Kleopatra VII), and thus demonstrative of eastern dynastic connections with Mauretania at that time.

In 49 BC, as the struggle with Pompeius intensified, both Bocchus II and Bogudes II were officially recognized as kings by Caesar.[107] Bogudes joined the Caesarean forces in Spain in 47 BC,[108] which resulted in a Pompeian invasion of Mauretania the following year,[109] when a fleet led by Cn. Pompeius the younger attacked Ascurum[110] on the coast but was repulsed. After Thapsus, in which he seems to have taken no part, Bogudes returned to Spain and fought on the Caesarean side at the Battle of Munda in early 45 BC, the final event of this phase of the civil war.[111]

Bocchus II, assisted by Sittius, actively joined the war in Numidia and Roman Africa against the Pompeians and Juba I, occupying the Numidian capital of Cirta.[112] According to Dio,[113] he made an alliance after Thapsus with the son of Pompeius in Spain, sending his own sons there, but otherwise he seems to have been firmly on the Caesarean side, later supporting Octavian. If Dio was correct, it is probable that Bocchus II was briefly playing a double game or that the alliance was to oppose his relative Bogudes II, actually in Spain with Caesar, a glimpse of family rivalry that transcended Roman politics. Yet within a year Caesar was dead and both kings became involved in the further civil war,[114] this time unquestionably on opposite sides. Bogudes eventually left to join Antonius, leaving all Mauretania to Bocchus. By 31 BC both were dead, and Mauretanian affairs and the vacant kingship awaited settlement by the new regime.

107 Dio 41.42.7. Faustus Cornelius Sulla, whose coins of a few years previously had depicted the surrender of Jugurtha, was to be sent to Mauretania, but the proposal was vetoed (Caesar, *Bellum civile* 1.6.4). He joined the Pompeian cause, ended up in Africa, and was killed after Thapsus by none other than Sittius (*De bello africo* 95).

108 *De bello alexandrino* 59, 62. On his involvement in the Roman civil war, see Enrique Gozalbes Cravioto, "La intervención de la Mauritania de Bogud en las guerras civiles romanas en la provincia Hispania Ulterior," in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía: Historia Antiqua* (Córdoba: Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente de la Junta de Andalucía, 1994), pp. 287–93.

109 *De bello africo* 23.

110 The location is unknown: Gsell 8.45–6; Romanelli, *Storia*, p. 121. Since it was an attack against Bogudes, it must have been in the west, probably on the coast east of Tingis.

111 Dio 43.36–8.

112 Appian, *Civil War* 2.96; Dio 43.3; *De bello africo* 25.

113 Dio 43.36.

114 Infra, pp. 93–5.

3

JUBA'S YOUTH AND EDUCATION

The infant Juba II arrived in Rome and participated in Caesar's African triumph of 46 BC. He then spent his youth and adolescence in the households of Caesar's heirs, exalted company that exposed him to the most talented military and intellectual leaders of the emergent Augustan regime, eventually accompanying Augustus on campaign, receiving Roman citizenship, and marrying a royal wife. Thus when Augustus eventually placed him on the throne of Mauretania, young Juba was eminently trained both politically and culturally to be the implementer of Augustan policy in northwest Africa.

The exact date of Juba's birth is not known. The first documentation of him is the appearance at Caesar's triumph, at which he was described as a βρέφος[1] or νήπιος,[2] words that imply extreme youth.[3] The failure of the sources to cite a specific age indicates that he might have been only a few months old, and probably at most 2 years of age, which would make him just over 20 when he received the kingship in 25 BC. Thus his birth was perhaps in early 48 BC, when his father was at the peak of his career after the victory at the Bagradas.[4]

1 Appian, *Civil War* 2.101.

2 Plutarch, *Caesar* 55. None of the other accounts of Caesar's triumph (for which see supra, Chapter 1, note 176) mentions Juba. Appian and Plutarch probably used the history of Asinius Pollio (consul in 40 BC), who was with Caesar in Africa and was specifically cited by Plutarch (*Caesar* 46) as a source; on Appian's use of Asinius Pollio, see Alain M. Gowing, *The Triumviral Narratives of Appian and Cassius Dio* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 3, 40.

3 Both are standard Greek words for "infancy." They are often used together: see, for example, Euripides, *Ion* 1399, where Kreusa described her son. The words are common in Greek literature from Homer on: βρέφος seems more often to refer to animals, νήπιος to humans. Rarely is there any other definition, and there is no reason to assume that either Appian or Plutarch used these complementary words in any but their most common meaning.

4 There seems no evidence for the specific ages offered by modern commentators, such as 4 (Matthias Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman*, trans. Peter Needham [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968], p. 284, and Elizabeth Rawson, "Caesar, Civil War and Dictatorship," *CAH*² 9, 1994, 436) or about 6 (J. P. D. V. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* [London: Duckworth, 1979], pp. 46, 203). Gsell (vol. 8, p. 207) called him "très jeune" at the time of the triumph and stated that he was born "vers 50." None of these suggestions seems consistent with the Greek: ages of 4 to 6 would imply that Juba was a παῖς rather than a βρέφος or νήπιος. See infra, p. 74, for evidence of Juba's birthdate based on his military service.

From the time of the triumph in the summer of 46 BC until his accession to the throne of Mauretania twenty-one years later there is no explicit mention of Juba in the historical record. Yet where he spent those two decades is an issue of crucial importance in his maturation as scholar and future king. They were vital years in Roman history, encompassing the assassination of Caesar, the rise and fall of M. Antonius, the demonization and death of Kleopatra VII, and the transformation of Caesar's heir from the young radical Octavian to the wise and paternal Augustus. Rome was innovatively rebuilt, and Greek and Roman scholars and other literati flourished. Eastern dynasts such as Herod the Great visited the city. Juba, as he grew up, was part of this dynamic environment.

Juba's integration into Roman society continued a policy that had emerged in the second century BC and was to become common in the Augustan period: Augustus himself brought many offspring of barbarian royalty to the city and educated them within his own family.[5] This practice, which allowed the children to become romanized, is first documented as an official practice with the future Ariarathes V of Kappadokia, who was educated in Rome before returning home to assume the kingship in 163 BC.[6] Nevertheless, it was rare during the Republic,[7] being limited to the first half of the second century BC, the period of spreading Roman contacts with the Greek world. After 153/152 BC it died out and was not reinstated for over a century.[8]

As was so often the case, the Romans were implementing a common Hellenistic procedure. Royal children had long been sent to the great cultural centers of the Greek world for their education, especially to Athens.[9] Several of Juba's own ancestors had benefited from this policy. Others had become attached to prominent Romans.[10] These precedents may have assisted Caesar and then Augustus in making education of royal children a policy, and thus Juba was saved to grow up in Rome,[11] although Caesar may have needed no

5 Suetonius, *Augustus* 48.

6 Livy 42.19.3–6; Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 9–10. Livy's phraseology is perhaps significant: "so that from childhood he would be used to Roman customs and men" ("ut iam inde a puero assuesceret moribus Romanis hominibusque").

7 Braund could only find five cases.

8 The last examples are the future Pergamene king Attalos III and the Seleukid king Demetrios II (Polybios 33.18).

9 Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 11–14.

10 Supra, pp. 14, 17, 18–19, 21.

11 Juba is the only known example of a royal child growing up and being educated in Rome during the 30s BC. Although Suetonius (*Augustus* 48) indicated that this was a regular policy of the Augustan court, instances other than Juba are from the late 20s BC and thereafter, beginning perhaps with the children of Herod the Great and those of Phraates IV of Parthia (Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 10–12). The children of Antonius and Kleopatra VII, who came to Rome in late 30 or early 29 BC, are peculiar and anomalous instances, since they were half Roman and were not sent by their parents. See infra, pp. 82–3.

other reason than his legendary clemency[12] to spare the child. One is reminded of the scene on the first Boscoreale Cup, of about forty years later, in which a barbarian child (in this case from Gaul) is presented to Augustus and "welcomed to Rome's authority."[13] Yet the fate of others in the triumph of 46 BC varied. Arsinoë (IV), the sister of Kleopatra VII, whom a faction had proclaimed queen of Egypt, was released, spared out of consideration for her brothers, Ptolemaios XIII and Ptolemaios XIV, and perhaps because her sister was Caesar's paramour.[14] Yet the Keltic leader Vercingetorix was executed.[15] Juba's survival may have been in part due to the questionable morality of Caesar's African war, where notable Romans had fallen on both sides: clemency to the survivors might have seemed wise.[16] His distinguished ancestry – he was, as noted, a direct descendant of the great Massinissa, who epitomized (to the Roman mind) barbarian royalty at its best – also played a role. But the sparing of Juba indicated some commitment toward his upbringing (unlike the case of Arsinoë, who seems to have been an adult),[17] and after the triumph some arrangements needed to be made for his care and education.

There is no evidence as to whose household Juba entered. The obvious choice is Caesar's,[18] but one wonders about the suitability of introducing an infant into the home of a childless middle-aged couple, where the atmosphere would soon become tense upon the arrival of Kleopatra and her entourage, including another royal child, Kaisarion.[19] These uncertainties would only increase in the months leading to Caesar's murder, and wherever Caesar's household was from summer 46 to March 44 BC, it was hardly the place to raise an infant. At any rate, it ceased to exist in March 44 BC, and the Horti Caesaris became public property.[20] What happened to Caesar's

12 Suetonius, *Julius* 73–4.

13 Ann L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 112; as Kuttner pointed out, there are similar scenes on the Ara Pacis (pp. 99–111).

14 Dio 42.39; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 258–60, 265. Nonetheless, Kleopatra VII soon was to turn against her and arranged five years later for Antonius to implement her execution: Appian, *Civil War* 5.9; Dio 48.24.

15 Dio 43.19.

16 On the moral problem of the triumph, see Robert Alan Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), pp. 23–5.

17 Arsinoë's date of birth cannot be determined. She was probably younger than Kleopatra VII, since she was not made queen upon the death of their father Ptolemaios XII, but she was possibly an adult by 48 BC when Caesar made her queen of Cyprus (Dio 42.35.5).

18 So Romanelli, *Storia*, p. 142.

19 Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 262–6. Dio (43.27.3) placed her arrival late in 46 BC, after the triumphs but before Caesar's departure for Spain; she went to live in Caesar's own house. Whether Caesar lived there too is not clear. As *pontifex maximus* he was entitled to live in the Domus Publica in the Forum (Suetonius, *Julius* 46), but he does not seem to have been in residence there in May of 45 BC (Cicero, *Atticus* 12.45). After Caesar's murder, Cicero seems to have encountered Kleopatra living in Caesar's estate across the Tiber, the Horti Caesaris (Cicero, *Atticus* 15.15).

20 Suetonius, *Julius* 83.

first house, in the Subura,[21] and his gardens on the Quirinal[22] is unknown, but it may be significant that his widow Calpurnia vanishes from the historical record after the Ides of March.[23]

Assuming Caesar realized that a royal infant might not best be raised in his deteriorating household, potentially in competition with Kaisarion, he might have handed Juba over to one of his closer relatives.[24] Caesar's family, however, is remarkably poorly known. He had two sisters, both named Julia. The sons of one, L. Pinarius and Q. Pedius, were named as Caesar's coheirs along with Octavian;[25] both resigned their inheritance. Pinarius was with Antonius before Philippi but is not known with certainty thereafter,[26] and Pedius was Octavian's colleague in the consulship of 43 BC but died during the year.[27] No children are known of either. Even if Juba had gone to this branch of the family, he could not have stayed long.

Caesar's other sister had a daughter, Atia, who had two children, Octavia and Octavius.[28] Their father, C. Octavius, was dead, and Atia was now

21 Suetonius, *Julius* 46.

22 *NTDAR* 197.

23 The fate of Calpurnia is one of the mysteries of late Republican history. She is last seen handing Caesar's papers and some possessions over to Antonius the night of the Ides of March (Plutarch, *Antonius* 15; Appian, *Civil War* 2.125). As the widow of Caesar she would have been an important player in the months to come, and as the daughter of a consular (L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, consul in 58: Suetonius, *Julius* 21; Erich S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, first paperback printing [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995], p. 143), who was still alive and would be active in the political maneuvering of 43 BC (Broughton, vol. 2, pp. 350–1), she would have been an ideal marriage prospect: she would have been at most only in her thirties, as her father could not have been born before the mid-90s BC. Her family remained prominent, as her younger brother, L. Calpurnius Piso (consul in 15 BC), lived to AD 32 and became a patron of literature (Ronald Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986], pp. 329–45). One can only assume that Calpurnia soon died or completely withdrew from public view immediately after the Ides. Nevertheless, it is another example of the invisible quality of women not attached to men.

24 Another possibility, purely speculative but intriguing, is that the young Juba was handed over to relatives of the supporters of his father. Although over time this might not have been politically expedient, in 46 BC it would have seemed another example of Caesar's clemency. The prominent ally of Juba I, Cato, had close relatives in Rome who were within Caesar's circle: Cato's son-in-law M. Junius Brutus and his young bride Porcia, Cato's daughter (Plutarch, *Brutus* 2, 13). These relatives of Cato may have assisted in forming the Numidian exile community in Rome that was still functioning in early Augustan times (infra, p. 70). The events that soon swept up Brutus and Porcia meant that young Juba could not long remain in this household, which in fact was extinct within four years, but closeness to Cato's relatives may be one of the reasons Juba later commemorated his father's ally at Volubilis (infra, pp. 144–5).

25 Appian, *Civil War* 3.22; Suetonius, *Julius* 83: for their exact relationship to Caesar, see Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, revised paperback edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 128–9, and Gruen, *Last Generation* (supra note 23), p. 119.

26 Appian, *Civil War* 4.107. It is possible that he is the L. Pinarius Scarpus who was Antonius' agent in Kyrene in 31–30 BC, and who turned the legions there over to Octavian (Syme, *Roman Revolution* [supra note 25], p. 129; Broughton, vol. 2, p. 422).

27 Appian, *Civil War* 3.94, 4.6.

28 Octavius would become Octavian when he accepted Caesar's inheritance in 44 BC, and then Augustus in 27 BC.

married to L. Marcius Philippus (consul in 56 BC). By 44 BC he was living in retirement in Campania and advising his stepson Octavius about his inheritance.[29] Octavius was as yet unmarried and lived with his mother and stepfather;[30] Octavia had been married for some years to C. Claudius Marcellus (consul in 50 BC).[31] Caesar's niece Atia and her descendants seem to have been the dominant side of the Caesarian family and thus this is the most likely place for Juba to have ended up. Less than two years later, however, Caesar was assassinated, and within the year Atia would die.[32] This brought about significant changes to the structure of the family. Octavius – now Caesar's heir and known as Octavian – would briefly marry Claudia,[33] but the marriage was never consummated and they never had a permanent household. Yet at about the same time, Octavia's only male child, M. Claudius Marcellus, would be born.[34] Thus Octavia and the elder Marcellus were starting their own family at the time of Caesar's death, and all signs point to them as the ones most likely to have housed Juba, as Octavia was now the matron of the Julian family.[35]

Yet Octavian's fortunes were changing rapidly. He soon divorced Claudia – conflict with his mother-in-law Fulvia was said to have been the problem[36] – and married Scribonia, whose family was connected to that of Pompeius Magnus.[37] His daughter Julia was born in 39 BC. He also purchased a house originally belonging to the orator and poet C. Licinius Calvus, near the Forum Romanum, perhaps on the north slope of the Palatine.[38]

Meanwhile, Octavia's husband Marcellus had died, perhaps early in 40 BC, leaving her a widow with three small children of her own and probably Juba. Conveniently, at almost the same time, Fulvia, the wife of M. Antonius and Octavian's recent mother-in-law, also died, leaving two young sons, M. Antonius Antyllus and Iullus Antonius. As a result of the accord between M. Antonius and Octavian in autumn 40 BC, commonly known as the Pact of Brundisium,[39] the obvious marriage was made, and now the

29 Suetonius, *Augustus* 8; Syme, *Roman Revolution* (supra note 25), p. 128.

30 Cicero, *Atticus* 14.11.

31 J. P. D. V. Balsdon, *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* (London: Bodley Head, 1962), p. 69.

32 Suetonius, *Augustus* 61.

33 Claudia was a daughter of the notorious P. Clodius Pulcher and Fulvia: she was valuable to Octavian because her stepfather was M. Antonius (Suetonius, *Augustus* 62).

34 Propertius 3.18.

35 Plutarch, *Antonius* 31, 57; on Octavia, see M. Hammond, "Octavia" (#96), *RE* 24, 1937, 1859–68; Susan E. Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 B.C.–A.D. 68*, Mnemosyne Supp. 194 (Leiden 1999), pp. 30–5.

36 Suetonius, *Augustus* 62. On the mother-in-law, Fulvia, at this time, see Charles L. Babcock, "The Early Career of Fulvia," *AJP* 86, 1965, 1–32; Diana Delia, "Fulvia Reconsidered," in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 197–217.

37 Appian, *Civil War* 5.53; Suetonius, *Augustus* 62; Syme, *Roman Revolution* (supra note 25), p. 213.

38 Suetonius, *Augustus* 72; *NTDAR* 130.

39 Syme, *Roman Revolution* (supra note 25), pp. 216–18.

virtuous and beautiful Octavia and her new husband Antonius had a household of at least six children, all except Juba under 5 years of age.

Soon, however, Octavian himself, after two false starts, began to demonstrate tangible evidence of dynastic thinking. He divorced Scribonia to marry Livia Drusilla, who divorced Tiberius Claudius Nero and brought her infant son Tiberius into Octavian's household; her second son, Drusus, was born at the time of the marriage.[40] Presumably at this time Octavian purchased for his new bride and his suddenly growing family the house of Q. Hortensius Hortalus (consul in 69 BC), one of the greatest orators of the previous generation.[41] Although the house was modest, the neighboring and lavish property that had belonged to Q. Lutatius Catulus (consul in 78 BC) was incorporated into it.[42] Octavia and her brood were next-door neighbors.[43] Thus the imperial court that began to develop as early as 38 BC included a remarkable number of small children, all of whom needed to be educated. Octavian's own relatives included his daughter Julia, approaching 2 years of age; his three nieces, the Marcellae and the elder Antonia (the first child of M. Antonius and Octavia); and his nephew Marcellus. A second Antonia was to follow within two years, and there were also Livia's two sons, Tiberius, approaching 5 years of age, and the infant Drusus, as well as Antonius' two sons. And there was Juba. None of these children was older than 5 except for Juba, who was about 10.

Octavia was to become legendary for raising the children of others.[44] Her reputation in this respect particularly refers to Antonius' children, especially those he was to have by Kleopatra, but also includes the growing family of Octavian, his relatives, in-laws, and foreigners. A dozen children were in this family by the mid-30s BC, mostly Octavia's own children and stepchildren, as well as Juba and another youthful non-Roman member of Caesar's household that Octavian seems to have acquired. This was Hyginos, who had come as a boy to Rome at Caesar's behest from either Alexandria or Spain.[45] He eventually became Octavian's librarian and the teacher of Ovid.[46] This library was part of the Palatine Temple of Apollo, on Octavian's property, probably inaugurated when the temple was dedicated in 28 BC;[47] at this time Octavian may have freed Hyginos, and he became

40 Syme, *Roman Revolution* (supra note 25), p. 229.

41 Suetonius, *Augustus* 72: since Hortensius had been dead for a decade, presumably the house was purchased from his heirs.

42 *NH* 17.2; Suetonius, *Grammarians* 17.

43 *NTDAR*, p. 281.

44 Plutarch, *Antonius* 87.

45 Johannes Christes, *Sklaven und Freigelassene als Grammatiker und Philologen im antiken Rom*, Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei 10 (Wiesbaden 1979), pp. 72–82.

46 Suetonius, *Grammarians* 20.

47 Dio 53.1.3; *NTDAR*, pp. 14, 58–9.

known as C. Julius Hyginus. A few years older than Juba, he clearly received much of his education in Octavian's household.[48]

Juba's own education, to judge from his scholarly prolificacy, was the best that contemporary Rome could offer. No source specifies his teachers, however, and they can only be presumed from his writings, which show strong interests in geography, exploration, natural history, linguistics, Roman history, Pythagorean philosophy, and the visual and performing arts. Thus these disciplines might be seen as the core of Juba's education.

Many Greek scholars were in Rome by the late 40s BC.[49] Their doyen was Alexandros Polyhistor of Miletos, who had been in the city since 82 BC and was near the end of a long and productive career.[50] He taught at least one member of Octavian's household, Hyginos.[51] A prolific scholar, he wrote extensive ethnographical works, and also on philosophy, cults, and literature. His ethnographies covered most of the Greco-Roman world from Italy east to Mesopotamia and India.[52] There was a treatise on the Delphic oracle[53] and one on the history of philosophy, with particular emphasis on the Pythagoreans.[54] His literary interests seem to have included Greek lyric, since he wrote on Alkman and Korinna;[55] the work on Alkman seems to have had an ethnographic or linguistic basis since it involved the poet's use of toponyms. Alexandros Polyhistor wrote largely to acquaint his Roman audience with a part of the world new to them.[56] This theory of scholarship, as well as his interests, closely paralleled those that Juba would develop, and his presence at some time in the early Augustan court demonstrates the likelihood of contact.

Alexandros Polyhistor may have spent some of the last years of his active career actually in Octavian's household. Others, also now late in their lives, were part of Octavian's coterie of Greek scholars and had been his own teachers. Particularly important insofar as Juba was concerned was the philosopher and historian Athenodoros of Tarsos.[57] His writings emphasized the

48 Christes (supra note 45), p. 73, suggested that he was born around 60 BC, but this seems too early to agree with Suetonius' comment that he was a boy when he came to Rome: a birth date of around 55 BC might be better.

49 For the use of Greek scholars in the education of the late republican aristocracy, see Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 27–32.

50 *FGrHist* #273; G. Schwartz, "Alexandros von Milet" (#88), *RE* 1, 1884, 1449–52; Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London: Duckworth, 1985), see index; Felix Jacoby, commentary on *FGrHist* #273; Christes (supra note 45), pp. 38–42.

51 Suetonius, *Grammarians* 20.

52 Alexandros, fr. 1–81.

53 Alexandros, fr. 83–4.

54 Alexandros, fr. 85–94.

55 Alexandros, fr. 95–7.

56 Felix Jacoby, commentary on *FGrHist* #273, p. 251.

57 *FGrHist* #746; Strabo 14.5.14, 16.4.21; Conrad Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1922), pp. 279–82; Pierre Grimal, "Auguste et Athénodore," *RÉA* 47, 1945, 261–73; "Auguste et Athénodore (suite et fin)," *RÉA* 48, 1946, 62–79.

history and culture of his native city and Kilikia, although he traveled into interior Nabataea and also wrote on the extremities of the world, to be one of Juba's important interests.[58] Athenodoros seems to have been in Rome from 44 until the late 30s BC,[59] when he returned to Tarsos and lived in respected retirement, but remaining close enough to the imperial family to dedicate a book to Octavia, perhaps a consolation on the death of her son Marcellus in 23 BC.[60] A student of the philosopher, historian, and geographer Poseidonios of Apamea, who was himself interested in the extremities of the world,[61] Athenodoros brought an appreciation of history and geography to Octavian's family.

Another possible tutor for young Juba was Timagenes of Alexandria, who had been in Rome since 55 BC.[62] Originally an intimate of M. Antonius, he moved into Octavian's household no later than 30 BC, still early enough to influence Juba. His protégés included Strabo of Amaseia and Nikolaos of Damaskos. Little of his work is known, but the few fragments that survive show an interest in history and geography, again including the extremities of the earth. Unlike many of his Greek contemporaries, he wrote on the Roman West as well as the Greek East.[63] In one case, Pliny contrasted his and Juba's ideas.[64]

Among other Greek scholars at the early imperial court was Apollodoros of Pergamon, famous for his rhetorical school and numerous pupils. By 45 BC he was elderly, and thus may not have survived long enough to influence Juba directly, although he lived to be 82.[65] In addition to Athenodoros of Tarsos, Octavian's house philosophers were Areios Didymos of Alexandria, a Stoic, and Xenarchos of Kilikian Seleukeia; the latter was one of the many teachers of Strabo and seems to have lived long in Augustus' company, though perhaps too late for Juba.[66] Areios Didymos seems to have come to Rome no later than 30 BC and survived until at least 9 BC, when he wrote a

58 Strabo 1.1.9.

59 But see R. Philippson, "Athenodoros," *RE* Supp. 5, 1931, 49.

60 Plutarch, *Publicola* 17.5: for the assumption that it was her son, see Glen Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 34, but it is possible that the occasion was the death of her husband Marcellus in 40 BC, which occurred while Athenodoros was in Rome.

61 *FGrHist* #87; Strabo 2.2 (=Poseidonios, fr. 28); James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 198–9. Poseidonios came to Rome in the first century BC and was attached to the Claudii Marcelli (*Souda*, Ποσειδώνιος; Plutarch, *Marcellus* 1.1), so may have been close to Juba's circle, but probably did not live until Juba's time. He was one of Strabo's principal sources.

62 *FGrHist* #88 and commentary thereon; F. Gisinger, "Timagenes" (#2) *RE* 2, ser. 11, 1936, 1063–73; Marta Sordi, "Timagene di Alessandria: uno storico ellenocentrico e filobarbaro," *ANRW* 2.30, 1982–3, 775–97.

63 Strabo 15.1.57; 4.1.13; *NH* 3.132.

64 *NH* 33.118.

65 Suetonius, *Augustus* 89; Lucian, *Makrobioi* 23; Bowersock (supra note 60), pp. 31–2.

66 Paul Moraux, "Xenarchos" (#5), *RE* 2, ser. 9, 1931, 1422–3.

consolation to Livia upon the death of her son Drusus.[67] Juba's later interest in Pythagoreanism may have led him to Pythagorean circles in Rome, represented by Areios Didymos, Alexandros Polyhistor, and the little-known Anaxilaos of Larissa.[68] Aristotelian philosophy may also have been part of Juba's education, since it was popular in the Rome of his youth[69] and part of the course of study of two of his intimates, Strabo of Amaseia and Nikolaos of Damaskos.[70]

Although none of Juba's teachers is named, the teachers of other members of the imperial family are recorded.[71] Octavia's son Marcellus was a student of Athenaios of Kilikian Seleukeia and Nestor of Tarsos (who also taught Tiberius).[72] Athenaios was a military engineer who prepared Marcellus for an expedition to Spain with Augustus in which Juba also participated. A future king would need knowledge about military strategy and tactics, and it seems probable that Athenaios was Juba's teacher in these matters.

Although Greeks largely controlled education in contemporary Rome, Roman scholars also contributed to the intellectual milieu. Two in particular who may have influenced Juba were C. Asinius Pollio and M. Terentius Varro. Both were close to Octavian. As noted, the former had been with Caesar in Africa and then shortly thereafter retired to write a history of the period 60–42 BC, a major source for later scholars. His sense of contemporary history was sharply tuned, and it may have been from Pollio that Juba learned about the career of his own father, Juba I.[73]

Varro, although near the end of his career, was perhaps the greatest Roman scholar of the era. It is inconceivable that Juba was not influenced by this outstanding talent. Juba, to be known as "rex literatissimus," had interests that paralleled Varro's in a number of ways, especially in linguistics and Roman antiquities, and also in the generally polymathic quality of his work. Varro's best-known work, *De lingua latina*, was composed in the 40s BC and dedicated, at least in part, to Cicero.[74] His little-known *Antiquitates rerum humanarum* was the contemporary culmination of the late republican interest in Roman origins.[75] He wrote other treatises on Roman history and culture: *De vita populi Romani* was a brief summary of Roman history, perhaps for a

67 Seneca, *Ad Marciam* 3–6; Plutarch, *Antonius* 80; on the life, identification, and philosophical orientation of Areios Didymos, see David Hahm, "The Ethical Doxography of Arius Didymus," *ANRW* 2.36, 1990, 3035–41.

68 On Pythagoreans in Rome at this time, see Rawson (supra note 50), p. 293.

69 Rawson (supra note 50), pp. 289–91.

70 Strabo 16.2.24; *Souda*, Νικόλαος = *FGrHist* #90, fr. 132.

71 Bowersock (supra note 60), pp. 34–7.

72 Lucian, *Makrobioi* 21; Cichorius (supra note 57), pp. 271–9.

73 On Asinius Pollio, see J. André, *La Vie et l'œuvre d'Asinius Pollion* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1949); Giuseppe Zecchini, "Asinio Pollione: dall'attività politicale alla riflessione storiografica," *ANRW* 30, 1982–3, 1265–96.

74 Rawson (supra note 50), pp. 125–31.

75 Rawson (supra note 50), pp. 236–7.

popular audience; *Aetia* was on Roman customs; and in *De gente populi Romani* he explored Rome's mythical origins.[76] With the possible exception of *Aetia*, these seem to have been written in the 40s BC when Varro was in his seventies,[77] and thus represented the latest in Roman thought and outlook at the time of Juba's education, paralleling his own later output.

Juba's scholarly development would have been further influenced by access to ancestral material, both his own and that of his future wife Kleopatra Selene. There was a scholarly heritage within Juba's own family[78] that he may have learned about through contact with Romans knowledgeable about Africa. About the time Juba came to Rome, Sallust was beginning his researches on North Africa, probably making use of the Carthaginian state library, which had become Roman property when Carthage fell in 146 BC. Some works were translated into Latin and then the books were given to the kings of Numidia. But the library probably returned to Rome, expanded somewhat by the scholarly output of Juba's grandfather Hiempsal, as part of the plunder Sallust removed from his province in 46 BC.[79] Sallust then used it when writing about Juba's ancestor Jugurtha.[80] Juba could not have remained ignorant of the existence of such a library in Rome. He would have studied its volumes enthusiastically, and eventually would commission copies and translations to help create his own royal library.[81] Sallust himself died in 35 BC, too early to have much personal influence on Juba,[82] and Juba's contact in the family was probably the historian's grandnephew and namesake, a man of culture and refinement who was about Juba's age and was the subject of poems by Krinagoras and Horace.[83]

Moreover, Juba would have studied the ancestral knowledge of Kleopatra Selene, perhaps well before their marriage: he was aware of the treatise of her ancestor, Ptolemaios VIII, that discussed his own ancestor Massinissa.[84] Heir to the traditions of the Ptolemies and theoretical queen of the Kyrenaika, at the very least Kleopatra Selene stimulated Juba's interest in northeast Africa and the Nile. She probably retained personal contacts in Egypt; when she and her brothers came to Rome in 30 BC they had an entourage that would have provided information and books for Juba, as would have other Alexandrians at the Augustan court.

76 Rawson (supra note 50), pp. 233–4, 242–5.

77 Varro's prolific output was legendary. By the time he was 78 (38 BC) he had written 490 books (Gellius 3.10.17), and he lived another decade to 27 BC.

78 Supra, p. 27.

79 Dio 43.9.2.

80 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 17–19; Gsell, vol. 7, p. 126. But see G. M. Paul, *A Historical Commentary on Sallust's "Bellum Jugurthinum"* (Liverpool 1984), p. 74, who was dubious about Sallust's access to the books.

81 On this topic, see Victor Matthews, "The *libri Punici* of King Hiempsal," *AJP* 93, 1972, 330–5.

82 Gerhard Perl, "Sallusts Todesjahr," *Klio* 48, 1967, 97–105.

83 Tacitus, *Annals* 3.30; Krinagoras 36; Horace, *Odes* 2.2.

84 *FGrHist* #234; Juba, fr. 87.

The intense scholarly activity in Rome in the late 40s and 30s BC, a foundation laid by Pollio, Varro, and the Greek scholars at the imperial court, had its impact on a new generation of scholars who came to maturity at that time. One of the best examples is Strabo of Amaseia, already mentioned as a pupil of several Augustan intimates. He was in Rome from 44 to 35 BC and then from 29 to 25 BC, as part of a long career that included travel throughout the Roman and Greek East, service with the Roman government in Egypt, a probable visit to the court of Herod the Great, and scholarly retirement in Amaseia at the court of Pythodoris of Pontos.[85] As a historian and especially as a geographer his interests paralleled Juba's. Strabo firmly believed that a king should have a knowledge of geography,[86] and probably encouraged Juba's studies in that discipline, since he was in Rome during the four years prior to Juba assuming his kingship. The almost gratuitous references to Juba scattered throughout his *Geography* seem to indicate some early friendship or association. He is the only explicit source for the death of the king in AD 23 or 24,[87] passages that are themselves evidence for the compositional history of the *Geography* and Strabo's own longevity. It is significant that Strabo, well into his eighties and residing in remote Amaseia, at the other end of the empire from Juba's world, saw fit to comment on the death of one who was a former friend and fellow protégé. Moreover, in his summary of Roman peace and expansion under Augustus,[88] written during AD 14–19, Strabo mentioned only four contemporary personalities: the emperor Tiberius and his two sons, and Juba – a unique emphasis on the Mauretanian king. In the final passage of his *Geography*, Strabo summarized the Augustan world and mentioned no one except the Princeps, Juba, and Juba's son Ptolemaios.[89] Strabo was not familiar with Juba's writings (perhaps they had not yet penetrated into interior Asia Minor) and used the mainstream Hellenistic geographical tradition – Poseidonios, Artemidoros, Eratosthenes, and others – for his description of Juba's world.[90] Yet these exceptional notices of Juba, whom it is unlikely that Strabo would have seen for half a century, indicate a strong friendship that could only have been formed in the days that both were in Rome.

85 Roller, *Herod*, pp. 64–5. But see Aubrey Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1975), pp. 6–7, who placed Strabo's retirement in the Naples area, which seems hard to believe, given the remote tone of his later additions to the *Geography*. On this problem, see, cautiously, Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 2–3.

86 Strabo 1.1.16.

87 Strabo 17.3.7, 9; François Lasserre, "Strabon devant l'Empire romaine," *ANRW* 30, 1982–3, 880.

88 Strabo 6.4.2.

89 Strabo 17.3.25.

90 Poseidonios: Strabo 17.3.4; Artemidoros and Eratosthenes: Strabo 17.3.2, 8; Jehan Desanges, "Le Regard de Strabon sur l'Afrique du Nord," in *Gli interscambi culturali e socio-economici fra l'Africa settentrionale e l'Europa mediterranea* 1, ed. Luigi Serra (Naples: Istituto Universario Orientale, 1986), pp. 309–19.

The extraordinary cultural environment that was Augustan Rome nurtured and produced an inordinate number of intellectual personalities. Some of these may have been connected to Juba in a variety of ways. For example, Krinagoras of Mytilene, the Augustan poet laureate who seems to have moved freely between the great imperial courts of the day, probably including that of Mauretania, was particularly close to Kleopatra Selene, perhaps reflecting his early association with the Ptolemies.[91] Vitruvius Pollio, the architect, had worked as a military engineer for Caesar and later wrote on architecture.[92] He was a close friend of a Numidian named C. Julius, son of Masinissa, who had fought with Caesar at Zama and who occasionally stayed in Vitruvius' house, providing information about the architecture of Zama, particularly its fortifications and the palace of Juba I.[93] It was perhaps through Vitruvius and Julius that Juba learned about the homeland, family, and distinguished ancestry that he was too young to remember.[94] Vitruvius' architectural theories may also have been of value to Juba in the building of Caesarea.

Juba also may have known the grammarian M. Verrius Flaccus,[95] a noted teacher who moved into the household of Augustus as tutor to his grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Although this would have been around 10 BC, long after Juba had left, Juba's later contact with C. Caesar and Verrius Flaccus' antiquarian and linguistic interests would make association probable. Other intimates may have been the poet Horace and his friend the grammarian M. Aristius Fuscus.[96] But a special influence on young Juba was the geographical scholarship of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, manifested by a map placed in the

91 Krinagoras 18, 25 (*Palatine Anthology* 7.633, 9.235). See further, infra, pp. 87–9. On Krinagoras, see J. S. Phillimore, "Crinagoras of Mytilene," *Dublin Review* 139, 1906, 74–86; J. Geffcken, "Krinagoras," *RE* 11, 1922, 1859–64; David C. Braund, "*Anth. Pal.* 9.235: Juba II, Cleopatra Selene and the Course of the Nile," *CQ* 34, 1984, 175–8; *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip*, vol. 2, ed. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 210–13.

92 Vitruvius 2.9.15. On the career and background of Vitruvius, see Barry Baldwin, "The Date, Identity, and Career of Vitruvius," *Latomus* 49, 1990, 425–34.

93 Vitruvius 8.3.24–5; F. Münzer, "C. Iulius" (#22), *RE* 10, 1917, 110. He has hypothetically been equated with Masintha, Caesar's protégé (supra, pp. 28–9), although the incidents are perhaps forty years apart: see Baldwin (supra note 92), p. 432; Vitruvius (ed. Callebat), pp. 127–8.

94 Doubtless there were also those in Rome who remembered the visit of Juba's father and his unfortunate encounter with Caesar (supra, p. 30), and Juba could visit the victory memorial of Bocchus I of Mauretania on the Capitol (supra, pp. 49–50). Many veterans of the late African war could have enlightened him about his family and native land, although perhaps the less said about his father the better, who in public perception remained demonized.

95 Suetonius, *Grammarians* 17, 19.

96 Horace's *Ode* 1.22, addressed to Fuscus, refers to "Iubae tellus ... leonum arida nutrix" (lines 15–16), the only specific reference to Juba in Augustan poetry. The poem seems to have been published in 23 BC, little more than a year after Juba became king, although it is remotely possible that the reference is to his father (supra, Chapter 2, note 11). On Fuscus, see R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 261–2.

Porticus Vipsania after his death in 12 BC.[97] Pliny recorded that Agrippa was a careful scholar – he was shocked to find a mistake in his material – and the map would have been the product of many years of geographical research, which Agrippa may have published as a geographical commentary before the map was actually created by Augustus.[98] It seems that the project was already in progress before Juba left Rome and that it influenced his geographical interests: Pliny considered Juba's scholarship – at least for parts of the East – superior to that of the map.[99] Juba may also have provided information about Mauretania to Agrippa.[100] Another contact was the historian C. Sulpicius Galba. Roughly Juba's age, he was considered a learned scholar noted for his thoroughness and eye for detail.[101] Galba supplied Juba with information on Romulus and Tarpeius[102] and was one of Pliny's sources[103] but is otherwise virtually unknown. Cornelius Nepos, best known as a biographer but also the author of a wide-ranging geographical work,[104] was at the end of a long if not especially distinguished career at about the time Juba left Rome.[105] Although his geography was not greatly respected by Pliny, and may have been almost totally derivative,[106] his interest in Mauretania may have attracted the attention of young Juba.[107]

Other Greek scholars were active in Rome. Diodoros of Sicily was completing his history in the 30s BC, although remaining aloof from Romans of prominence.[108] Nikolaos of Damaskos, who studied with Timagenes alongside Strabo, was to tutor Kleopatra Selene and then move to the court of Herod the Great and return regularly to Rome as Herod's ambassador,

97 *NH* 3.17; J. J. Tierney, "The Map of Agrippa," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 63c, 1963, 151–66; Claude Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), pp. 95–122.

98 O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), pp. 41–53; Thomson, pp. 332–4.

99 *NH* 6.136–41. If the reading of Pliny's text is correct, he specifically used Juba's material to update the map.

100 Infra, p. 190.

101 *FGrHist* #92; see also *HRR* LVIII; 41. His father, Servius Sulpicius Galba, was one of Caesar's assassins and was executed for the deed; his grandson was the emperor Galba (Suetonius, *Galba* 3).

102 Plutarch, *Romulus* 17 (=Juba, fr. 24).

103 *NH* 1.36.

104 Most commentators on Cornelius Nepos have ignored his geographical writings: see the brief summary by G. Wissowa, "Cornelius Nepos" (#275), *RE* 4, 1900, 1411.

105 His history appeared well before Catullus published his first poem and he survived into the Augustan era (*NH* 9.137). It is not absolutely certain that the historian and geographer are the same person: see Pomponius Mela, *Chorographie*, ed. A. Silberman (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1988), p. 277; K. G. Sallmann, *Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro* (Berlin 1971), pp. 123–5.

106 *NH* 5.4; see also 6.5. Pomponius Mela (3.45) had a somewhat better opinion, but valued him because he was recent.

107 He discussed Tingis (*NH* 5.4) and Kerne (*NH* 6.199), both places of particular interest to Juba.

108 Kenneth S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 161–8.

eventually writing the longest of universal histories, recording details about Juba unknown elsewhere.[109] Perhaps more directly influential on Juba was Dionysios of Halikarnassos, a teacher of rhetoric who arrived in Rome about 30 BC and spent at least the next two decades writing his *Roman Archaeology* and other works on rhetoric and linguistics.[110]

Juba's intellectual interests are closely paralleled by those of many other scholars of his era, not all of whom would have been an influence. A constant theme of the Augustan period is the pervasive interest in the history of Rome and in language, representative of the contemporary cultural attitude that produced the unique blend of antiquarianism and innovation that marked the Augustan era. The Roman desire to compete on equal terms with the venerated cities of the Greek East meant that the application of Greek scholarly techniques to analysis of Roman institutions was especially meaningful.[111] Augustus sought to prove the legitimacy of his revolution, in which he destroyed the Republic, by emphasizing his salvation of the republic and the continuity of the new regime with Roman origins, as countless Augustan artifacts from the *Aeneid* to the Ara Pacis demonstrate.[112] This interest in early Rome was complemented by that of the Greek scholars, who were just discovering the new (to them) world of Rome. It had been barely two hundred years since Andronikos of Taras had come to Rome, perhaps the first creative Greek to take up residence there, writing Latin plays under the name of Livius Andronicus.[113] The newness of Rome to the Greeks was matched by the self-conception of the Augustan era, which sought to create a new world by claiming that it was actually ancient. Thus the Greek scholars became the implementation of the Roman, especially Augustan, view of early Rome and its continuity with the present.

Moreover, there were strong reasons why language and linguistics were topical endeavors of the era. The Latin language was still new and thought to be rough and imperfect. Less than thirty years before Juba came to Rome, Lucretius had written that his use of Latin for a philosophical treatise was unpredecented, and that he was destined boldly to go where no one had gone before.[114] Any attempt to elevate the status of the Latin language and

109 Nikolaos is probably the source for Josephus' information regarding Juba's marriage to Glaphyra of Kappadokia: see further, infra, pp. 247–9; on Nikolaos, see Ben Zion Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

110 On Dionysios, see Emilio Gabba, *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

111 On this, see Gabba (supra note 110), pp. 10–12.

112 This issue is explored by Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

113 Eduard Fraenkel, "Livius" (#10a), *RE* Supp. 5, 1931, 598–607; Erich S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*, first paperback printing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 80–2.

114 Lucretius 1.925–7.

to prove its relationship to Greek would be appreciated by the Augustan power elite. These attempts were destined to fail – Juba and so many others wrote on Roman history and even on the Latin language only in Greek – but nonetheless they produced in the latter first century BC a veritable industry of linguistic studies. Juba, with his interests in antiquarianism, linguistics, and art and architecture, was so completely a product of his era.

Another, if less formalized, part of Juba's education would have been his exposure to the Augustan architectural revolution that was transforming Rome from a city of brick to one of marble.[115] Caesar had envisioned a rich building program, partly in competition with Pompeius, and Octavian (and his associates) began to implement this program almost immediately after Caesar's death and continued it unabated for much of the Augustan period. Juba would have been especially observant of the many construction projects in the Rome of his youth, gaining information that would be of use when he became a city founder.

At some time before he became king, Juba accompanied Augustus on campaign. This is documented in a single notice by Dio,[116] who provided no specific details. The context is the aftermath of the death of Antonius and Kleopatra, and the disposition of their children, one of whom was to be married to Juba. Thus it may be that the Actium campaign is the one meant,[117] and that Juba was in the East with Octavian in 31–30 BC, meeting his future wife for the first time. But this seems unlikely, as will be demonstrated.

It was common for aristocratic Roman youths to go into the field at an early age. Octavian himself had joined Caesar in Spain in late 46 BC, when he had just turned 17, immediately after the African triumph.[118] Marcellus, his nephew, began his military career at the same age,[119] as did his stepson Tiberius, the future emperor.[120] Both went with Augustus to Spain in 27–25 BC to engage various troublesome mountain tribes.[121] Dio's account of the settlement of this war is significant:

> When this war ended, Augustus discharged his more elderly soldiers and had them establish a city in Lusitania, called Augusta Emerita. For those who were still of military age he arranged exhibitions in the camps under the direction of Marcellus and Tiberius, since they were aediles. And he gave to Juba, in place of his ancestral lands,

115 Suetonius, *Augustus* 28.

116 Dio 51.15.6.

117 So Jacoby, *RE*, p. 2385; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (supra note 4), p. 203.

118 Suetonius, *Augustus* 8.

119 Dio 53.26.

120 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 9.

121 The campaign is discussed by Syme, *Roman Revolution* (supra note 25), pp. 331–3.

part of Gaetulia, most of whose inhabitants had been registered in the Roman state, as well as the lands of Bocchus and Bogudes.[122]

This seems proof that Juba was in Spain with his childhood playmates Marcellus and Tiberius, and that it was as a result of his services on this campaign that Augustus made the final decision to give him his kingship.[123]

Seventeen seems to have been the customary age to begin military service. Octavian was considered too young at 16 to join Caesar in Africa, although he did participate in the triumph in the summer of 46 BC.[124] Juba would have been about 21 in 27 BC, a late age to campaign for the first time, but there probably was no alternative. Augustus had not been in the field since Actium. At that time Juba, who probably turned 17 about the time Octavian crossed to Greece on his way to Actium, may have been perceived as not mature enough for battle. It is unlikely that Octavian would have allowed him to campaign at an age at which he himself had been considered too young. Thus the evidence for Juba's first military service suggests strongly that his birth date was no earlier than 48 BC. Regardless, if the Spanish campaign were a test of Juba's abilities as a military leader, it seems to have been successful, for he was promptly sent to rule Mauretania.

A final important step in Juba's upbringing was his acquisition of Roman citizenship. This is only indirectly documented, through the existence of the name Julia and Julius among Mauretanian freedmen and freedwomen.[125] A freedman of Juba's son Ptolemaios, one C. Julius Montanus,[126] provides the link between the Mauretanian royal and Roman imperial families. Yet even if the case of Juba were not documented, it could easily be assumed: Roman

122 Dio 53.26.1–2: Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αὔγουστος τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσιτανίᾳ τὴν Αὔγουσταν Ἡμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔτ' ἔχουσι θέας τινὰς διά τε τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὡς καὶ ἀγορανομούντων ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐποίησε. καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰούβᾳ τῆς τε Γαιτουλίας τινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἐπείπερ ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογούου ἔδωκε.

123 On this, see Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 139–40; C. R. Whittaker, "Roman Africa: Augustus to Vespasian," *CAH*^{2} 10, 1996, 590–1. An interesting sidelight is provided by an epigram of Krinagoras (#29 = *Palatine Anthology* 9.419), which describes how Augustus took a cure in the waters of the Pyrenees – an allusion to his illness during the Spanish campaign – perhaps the cold cure prescribed by his physician Antonius Musa (Suetonius, *Augustus* 81). Almost irrelevantly, Krinagoras added mention of Soloeis and the Libyan Hesperides, places that Augustus had not visited but which would become famous if he did. Although both are used metaphorically for the extreme west end of the earth (cf. Herodotos 2.32, 4.43), it seems no coincidence that these places in northwest Africa soon to be part of Juba's kingdom are cited in the context of events that resulted in his receiving of that kingdom. On Soloeis, see Eugen Oberhummer, "Soloeis" (#2) *RE* 2, ser. 3, 1927, 935.

124 Suetonius, *Augustus* 8.

125 *PIR*^{2} I65. Juba's position as *patronus coloniae* at Carthago Nova (infra, pp. 156–7) would also imply citizenship, since a non-Roman would hardly be appointed guardian of Roman institutions (for the term, see *OLD* s.v. *patronus*).

126 *CIL* 8.21093.

citizenship was an expected privilege for foreign notables, especially client kings. Yet the evidence for such grants is astonishingly sparse, and is rarely cited in literature. Josephus' record of Caesar's bestowal of citizenship on Antipatros of Askalon, the father of Herod the Great, is exceptional.[127] Moreover, the foreigners, particularly if they were kings, were often diffident about parading their Roman citizenship before their subjects and may not have felt that it enhanced their prestige.[128]

Such grants were common under Augustus and his immediate successors. Although it is often impossible to tell whether a person with the name C. Julius received citizenship from Caesar or Augustus, it seems that Caesar established the practice, perhaps because of the wartime pressures of the early 40s BC and the need to create support groups in the provinces.[129] The concept existed at least as early as 47 BC when Caesar was received by various eastern notables in Antioch, and gave citizenship to Antipatros of Askalon and others. The policy was continued by M. Antonius, who seems to have favored the royal family of Pontos (in more ways than one, since he also produced offspring within the family):[130] he perhaps began to give citizenship to royalty. Just as Caesar's bestowal on Antipatros was crucial, since it affected Herod the Great, his entire family, and a number of other dynasties into which the Herodians married, Antonius' favor of the Pontic rulers allowed Roman citizenship to spread through Asia Minor.

In the case of Juba, although the evidence seems clear that he and his son Ptolemaios held Roman citizenship, it is impossible to determine when and by whom the grant was made. Caesar is a possible donor, but he was dead before Juba was 5 years of age, and thus Augustus seems the more probable. There is no way to determine the date except to assume that it was before Juba became king in 25 BC.

Thus by 25 BC Juba was almost ready to assume the kingship of Mauretania. He was a Roman citizen, he had been raised in the Augustan household, he had the best education available to a young Roman aristocrat of the era, and he had proved his military prowess in Spain alongside Marcellus, who was rapidly becoming Augustus' heir apparent. Marcellus was to marry Augustus' daughter Julia the year that Juba became king.[131] Juba himself was certainly married before he went to Mauretania. As a young man of promise, upon whom the entire Roman presence in northwest Africa depended, Juba would need to have a wife whose status equaled his own.

127 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14.137; *Jewish War* 1.194.

128 On this entire issue as it relates to the client kings, see Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 39–53, who carefully noted that it is impossible to argue from silence on this topic, because of the reasons cited above and because the evidence is so scattered.

129 A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 309–10.

130 Richard D. Sullivan, "Dynasts in Pontus," *ANRW* 2.7, 1980, 916–18.

131 Suetonius, *Augustus* 63; Dio 53.27.5.

4

KLEOPATRA SELENE

The first two decades of Juba's life were tumultuous times for Rome, as the Republic continued to collapse. Within two years of his arrival in the city, his saviour Julius Caesar was assassinated. The following year, Octavian, Antonius, and M. Aemilius Lepidus were constituted as triumvirs, who placed avenging the murder at the head of their agenda, spending over a year at the task. In October of 42 BC at Philippi their vengeance seemed complete with the deaths of Brutus and Cassius. Antonius had become the dominant member of the triumvirate; Lepidus, already marginalized, was not at Philippi and Octavian's conduct at the battle was less than distinguished.[1] Antonius would have sensed redemption for a personal career that so far had, at best, been mixed: after the battle he was saluted as *imperator* by the victors and the vanquished alike, while Octavian, his status at a low point, was verbally abused after the battle.[2] With the underestimation of him that characterized the era, it might have seemed natural that he return to Italy, possibly to end his brief career, but Antonius would remain in the East to clean up the mess left by the activities of Brutus and Cassius over the previous two years. The eastern provinces had to be stabilized and there were serious internal problems in both Judaea and Egypt, too close to the Roman territories to be ignored. Antonius was the one to settle these difficult issues.[3]

It was Appian who wrote most succinctly about what happened next:

> After the death of Cassius and Brutus, Caesar [Octavian] went to Italy, but Antonius to Asia, where Kleopatra, queen of Egypt, encountered him and immediately subjugated him. This passion brought both of them, and all of Egypt, into extreme difficulty.[4]

1 *NH* 7.148; Kenneth Scott, "The Political Propaganda of 44–30 BC," *MAAR* 11, 1933, 21–2.

2 Suetonius, *Augustus* 13.

3 For the political situation after the Battle of Philippi, see Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 205–7; Christopher Pelling, "The Triumviral Period," *CAH*^{2} 10, 1996, 8–11.

4 Appian, *Civil War* 5.1: Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου θάνατον ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ᾔει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα βασιλὶς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖσα ἐκράτει. ὁ δὲ ἔρως ὅδε αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐς ἔσχατον ἔληξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην Αἴγυπτου ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις.

Actually, they had already met when Antonius was on the staff of Aulus Gabinius (consul in 58 BC) during the latter's Syrian governorship. Gabinius and Antonius had gone to Alexandria in 55 BC to restore Ptolemaios XII, Kleopatra's father, to the throne.[5] If Kleopatra's later life is any indication of what she was like as an adolescent, the 14-year-old princess would have made herself conspicuous to the Roman officers at her father's court. As is well known, Antonius and Kleopatra had a more dramatic meeting fourteen years later, in the autumn of 41 BC, at Tarsos.[6] Eventually he returned with her to Alexandria, to spend the winter in the extravagant series of amusements vividly described by Plutarch.[7] Whether either had any thoughts for the future is not obvious: Antonius was well known for his series of liaisons with eastern royalty. He left in the spring of 40 BC to return to Italy, where the situation was deteriorating again, largely owing to the machinations of his wife Fulvia, who allegedly believed that this would be the best way of forcing him to leave Kleopatra and to return home.[8] Whatever the circumstances under which Antonius and Kleopatra parted that spring, it seems that Kleopatra soon gave birth to twins.

There is no explicit evidence as to exactly when the twins were born. They are not mentioned in extant literature until the context of late 37 BC, when Antonius and Kleopatra met the next time.[9] By this time the triumvirate had been renewed. Antonius had separated from his latest wife, Octavia, and was setting forth on his Parthian campaign. Kleopatra came to meet him en route, probably at Antioch.[10] Antonius acknowledged paternity of Kleopatra's twin children, who would have been 3 years old and would never have seen their father, and seems to have named them Alexandros Helios and Kleopatra (VIII) Selene. The primary source, Plutarch, is somewhat ambiguous, depending on whether προσαγορεύσας here means "named" or "called

5 Plutarch, *Antonius* 3; Appian, *Civil War* 5.8.

6 Plutarch, *Antonius* 25–9; Appian, *Civil War* 5.8–9.

7 Plutarch's source, in part, was not the pro-Augustan historians but a friend of his grandfather Lamprias, who was an intimate of the servants in the Ptolemaic palace, and who described the lavish life that winter, especially its culinary aspects (*Antonius* 28.3–4).

8 Plutarch, *Antonius* 30; Appian, *Civil War* 5.14, 50–9; Dio 48.4–15, 28. After starting and virtually directing the Perusine War, Fulvia was driven out of Italy and met Antonius at Athens, and the two continued together as far as Sikyon, where she became sick and was left behind to die – of a broken heart, it was said, but also an event of great convenience to all, as Appian noted. The almost simultaneous death of Octavia's husband Marcellus led to the marriage between Octavia and Antonius before the end of 40 BC.

9 Plutarch, *Antonius* 36: the meeting is securely dated by the contemporary execution of the Hasmonean Antigonos and the activities of C. Sosius in Judaea on behalf of Herod the Great (Josephus, *Jewish War* 1.357; *Jewish Antiquities* 14.487–91). See also Hermann Bengtson, *Marcus Antonius: Triumvir und Herrscher des Orients* (Munich: Beck, 1977), p. 295.

10 Strabo, *Histories* (*FGrHist* #91) fr. 18 (=Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 15.8–10).

[them] by [their] names."[11] It is hard to believe that these 3-year-olds had no names, and perhaps it is better to assume that Antonius either renamed them or, more likely, gave them their surnames.[12] Kleopatra would have been a reasonable name for the daughter: besides the precedent of her mother, a daughter of the reigning Ptolemaios had been named Kleopatra in each of the past four generations, ever since Ptolemaios V married the Seleukid princess Kleopatra I early in the second century BC. In fact, there even had been a previous Kleopatra Selene, daughter of Ptolemaios VIII and Kleopatra III, and, by the complex intermarriages of the dynasty, Kleopatra VII's great-aunt and step-grandmother.[13] Alexandros was less obvious, appearing only occasionally in dynastic usage. It had never been used as a first name in either the Ptolemaic or the Seleukid main line, and was most common among pretenders and minor dynasts. It is improbable that Antonius would have been influenced by its use among the Hasmoneans, or the Seleukid claimants of the second century BC, Alexandros Balas and Alexandros Zabinas, or even the surnames of two of Kleopatra VII's ancestors, Ptolemaios X Alexandros – her great uncle – and Ptolemaios XI Alexandros, although these did provide a precedent for Ptolemaic usage. It is most likely that the inspiration was the obvious one: Alexander the Great, which also gave the name Kleopatra greater significance, as it was that of his sister.[14] Thus the twins Alexandros and Kleopatra represent their parents' intensive dynastic thought, a response to the similar machinations that were now conspicuous in Rome.

More significant are the children's surnames. The use of Helios fulfilled certain contemporary prophetic notions that were current both in Rome and Egypt in the 30s BC.[15] The boy's name linked Alexander the Great to Rome and would bring together East and West, ending the antagonism that had existed since the Trojan War, and thus beginning the golden age.[16] Selene

11 Plutarch, *Antonius* 36; also George Synkellos, *Ekloga* 583. There are numerous examples in LSJ, where προσαγορεύω is used to mean "addressing by name [someone whose name is already known]." Since Antonius had never seen his children before, this would have been the first chance he had to call them by their names, and by doing so formally accept his paternity.

12 Günther Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, trans. Tina Saavedra (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 241–2.

13 Strabo 16.2.3; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 13.420; Appian, *Syrian War* 69; F. Stähelin, "Kleopatra Selene" (#22), *RE* 21, 1921, 782–4; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 83–8. There may have been another, more obscure Kleopatra Selene, the Seleukid princess Kleopatra V, mother of Antiochos XIII, who was one of the last Seleukid kings (cited merely as "Selene" by Cicero [In verrem 2.1.61]). As she was a rival claimant to the Egyptian throne, she was not a good precedent. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, Stemma 7, believed, however, that she was the same as the daughter of Ptolemaios VIII.

14 Diodoros 16.91.4; 18.23.1; F. Stähelin, "Kleopatra" (#13), *RE* 11, 1921, 735–8.

15 W. W. Tarn, "Alexander Helios and the Golden Age," *JRS* 22, 1932, 135–60; Michael Grant, *Cleopatra* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), pp. 142–4.

16 Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, ed. C. B. R. Pelling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 214. Whether any of this thought was reflected in Vergil's *Eclogue* 4 is neither provable nor particularly relevant to the future life of the children.

a traditional counterpart to Helios, and, as the children's mother [illegible] new Isis,[17] may have been inspired by that cult. Moreover, there were Parthian connotations, especially relevant with the forthcoming expedition. When a third child was born the following year, he too had a significant name: Ptolemaios (XVI) Philadelphos, after his illustrious ancestor, the first great Greek king of Egypt, Ptolemaios II Philadelphos. Hence all three offspring of Antonius and Kleopatra had names that coupled the great Macedonian past with the glorious present and the ideal future that was to come through the combining of Roman and Greek culture, much as Alexander the Great had joined together Greek and Persian.

Kleopatra Selene's first decade of life is little distinguished in the sources from that of her twin brother.[18] All three of the children made their first recorded public appearance in 34 BC, when Kleopatra Selene was about 6, at the event that has come to be called the Donations of Alexandria. This was a most lavish in a series of territorial gifts from Antonius to Kleopatra and her children, symbolic ceremonies that "donated" land that was either already theirs or never would be theirs, and had more value as contemporary propaganda than political reality.[19] According to Plutarch and Dio, there seem to have been two major donations. The earlier was probably made in Rome, perhaps in Antioch at the time of the acknowledgment of the twins,[20] and was followed by a more lavish one in Alexandria two years later.[21] The only contemporary source, Josephus, is limited to gifts to Kleopatra VII in the plural.[22] There may have been other donations. Exactly what was given and to whom is not precisely understood. Although one should look at them collectively, only the ceremony in 34 BC in the Gymnasion of Alexandria can properly be called the Donations of Alexandria.

[illegible], *Antonius* 54.6. On this issue, see Hans Volkmann, *Cleopatra: A Study in Politics and Propaganda*, trans. T. J. Cadoux (New York: Sagamore Press, 1958), pp. 148–50. Kleopatra VII was also known in contemporary art as Selene (Dio 50.5).

[illegible] is often hidden in obscurity: whoever made the summaries of Livy's history did not even [illegible] of her, citing only the two boys (*Epitome* 132) – a particular irony, since she was the only one of the three to grow to maturity. This was certainly known to Livy, who probably met and outlived [illegible], and thus demonstrates the caution with which the summaries must be read. On her early [illegible] generally, Gisell, vol. 8, pp. 217–20, and F. Stähelin, "Kleopatra Selene" (#23), *RE* 21, 1921, 788–9. John Whitehorne, *Cleopatras* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 197–202, is superficial.

[illegible] (supra note 3), p. 270; Meyer Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's "Roman History," Books 49–52 (36–29 B.C.)* (American Philological Association Monographs 31, Atlanta, 1988), pp. 63–5, 76–7; Plutarch, *Life of Antony* (ed. Pelling, supra note 16), pp. 240, 249–52; Bengtson (supra note 9), pp. 218–19; Maria Rosa Cimma, *Reges socii et amici populi Romani* (Milan: Giuffre, 1976), pp. 284–8; Grant (supra note 15), pp. 162–75; Hölbl (supra note 12), p. 244.

[illegible], *Antonius* 36; Dio 49.32.4–5; Volkmann (supra note 17), pp. 126–7, 145–50; François [illegible], *Marc Antoine, dernier prince de l'Orient grec* (Paris: Arthaud, 1986), pp. 313–17.

[illegible], *Antonius* 54; Dio 49.41.

[illegible], *Jewish Antiquities* 15.79, 91–5. Velleius did not mention any donations, and no record of them is preserved in the summaries to Livy's history.

The ceremony was perhaps connected with the quasi-triumph Antonius celebrated upon his return from Parthia. The most detailed source, Plutarch, describes with particular attention the thrones on which the participants sat, and the costumes of Alexandros and Ptolemaios. Also present was Kleopatra's other son, Kaisarion, who was now acknowledged, at the age of about 13, as the son of Julius Caesar. He was named king of kings and, by implication, the heir of his mother,[23] who, along with the two younger boys, was given territory, virtually all the districts from Libya in the south to Armenia in the north, including several Roman provinces. But Kleopatra Selene is not mentioned in this account, and only Dio, while not placing her at the ceremony, recorded a gift to her, the Kyrenaika. In his version of the earlier (36 BC?) donation, he also wrote that the children were given parts of Crete. Thus, putting all the information together, it seems that Kleopatra Selene received, in perhaps more than one gift, Crete and the Kyrenaika. Appropriating Crete might have been particularly satisfying to Antonius since the organization of the island as a Roman province had been largely to repair the damage done by his father, M. Antonius, whose attempt to eliminate its use as a pirate base had ended disastrously. The humiliation felt by the family through the ridicule implied in the senior Antonius' posthumous cognomen "Creticus" could now be avenged by the son taking Crete away from Rome and giving it to his daughter.[24]

Roman control of the Kyrenaika had dated from the beginning of the century.[25] Yet traditionally Kyrene had been Ptolemaic: Kleopatra VII's grandfather, Ptolemaios IX, and his uncle, Ptolemaios Apion, had been the last kings of an independent Kyrene, and the death of the latter in 96 BC had soon resulted in Roman control. Hence the bestowal of Crete and Kyrene on Kleopatra Selene, even if the two were not yet unified as a single Roman province,[26] fulfilled dynastic and personal needs of her parents. A certain Crassus[27] may have been sent as royal governor, issuing crocodile coins that

23 K. W. Meiklejohn, "Alexander Helios and Caesarion," *JRS* 24, 1934, 192–3.

24 Eleanor Goltz Huzar, *Mark Antony: A Biography* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 15–16. On the career of Creticus, see Philip De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 141–8. The cognomen may not originally have been meant to be derisive: see Jerzy Linderski, "The Surname of M. Antonius Creticus and the Cognomina *ex victis gentibus*," *ZPE* 80, 1990, 157–64.

25 Joyce Reynolds and J. A. Lloyd, "Cyrene," *CAH*^{2} 10, 1996, 619–21.

26 The evidence for their linkage is clear only in the Augustan period (Reynolds and Lloyd [supra note 25], p. 632). See also André Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique: Libykai Historiai de l'époque républicaine au principat d'Auguste* (Paris: CNRS, 1987), pp. 478–9.

27 The identity of this Crassus is by no means certain. The most likely candidate is the Antonian confidant P. Canidius Crassus (consul suff. in 40 BC), who was to command the land forces at Actium, and died, perhaps by suicide, after the capture of Alexandria, but he was directing Antonius' Armenian campaign from 36 BC, and there seems to have been little opportunity between then and Actium for him to have served in the Kyrenaika. On his career, see Pelling (supra note 3), pp. 31–2, 50–1, 57, 64; for identification of him as royal governor of Kyrene, *BMC Cyrenaica*, ccxxi–ccxxii.

asserted Kleopatra Selene's control of the territory,[28] but there is no evidence of any attempt to expel the Roman government, or even that the people of Crete and Kyrene knew that they were now subjects of a 6-year-old queen.[29] Antonius and Kleopatra VII, at any rate, were almost out of time: Octavian, in Rome, made the most of the Donations of Alexandria, and it was only three years until Actium.

One further item is known about Kleopatra Selene's early life in Alexandria. As royal children needed suitable teachers, Antonius reached back into his Roman circle of Greek intellectuals to call upon Nikolaos of Damaskos, probably on the recommendation of Timagenes of Alexandria, who was serving in the Ptolemaic court when Antonius first came to Egypt in 55 BC.[30] In later years, Nikolaos, now the intimate of both Herod the Great and Augustus, would try to suppress his role as tutor to the royal children at the Alexandrian court. He almost succeeded, since knowledge of this portion of his career rests upon a single obscure notice.[31] Presumably his efforts were most directed toward the eldest, Kaisarion, in his teens, but Kleopatra Selene and her brothers could not have been hurt by the presence in their household of one of the most distinguished scholars of the era.[32] She may have maintained contact in the following decade when she moved to Rome and Nikolaos was visiting the city regularly as ambassador of Herod and biographer of Augustus.

Three other royal tutors are known by name, but none of them seems to have been of particular note. Euphronios played a role in negotiating the disposition of the children after Actium. Theodoros was a tutor of Antyllus, the son of Antonius and Fulvia, who was living in Alexandria at the time, and Rhodon was a tutor of Kaisarion: both were remembered only for betraying their charges when Alexandria fell to Octavian.[33]

The next duty of parents of royal children was to insure that they were properly married. Progress was under way when Alexandros Helios was betrothed to Iopate of Media, daughter of King Artavasdes, whom Antonius had managed to lure away from his Parthian alliance and make king of Armenia Minor.[34] Iotape came to Alexandria in 34 BC, perhaps more as

28 *BMC Cyrenaica* ccxxi–ccxxii, p. 117, nos. 24–6. These are remindful of Kleopatra Selene's later crocodile coins from Mauretania (Figure 26c, d, p. 246; Mazard #394, 395).

29 Nonetheless, Augustus in the *Res gestae* (27) would claim to have recovered the territory.

30 Plutarch, *Antonius* 72.

31 Sophronios of Damaskos, *Account of the Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John* 54 (=*FGrHist* #90, T2). Volkmann (supra note 17), p. 208, believed the tutoring took place in Rome after 29 BC, which seems unlikely, as then there would have been no reason to suppress the episode. See also Ben Zion Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 21–2, who had Kleopatra VII engage him as tutor around 36 BC when she was in the Levant, a distinct possibility.

32 Glen W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 124.

33 Plutarch, *Antonius* 81.

34 Dio 49.44; Hans Buchheim, *Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1960), pp. 81–3.

hostage than bride, and there was the thought that Alexandros Helios might someday become king of Media and Armenia.[35] But there was no chance to make a similar arrangement for his sister, as preparations for war with Rome followed almost immediately.

During the Battle of Actium, the royal children remained in Alexandria, perhaps under the supervision of Euphronios. The following year, as Octavian was advancing toward Egypt, Euphronios, one of the few Antonius and Kleopatra could still trust, was sent to Octavian to negotiate terms, one of which included giving the throne of Egypt to the children. The petition reached Octavian somewhere in Asia Minor and was promptly rejected.[36] When he reached Egypt an attempt was made to remove the children to safety. Kaisarion was sent toward Ethiopia, with India his eventual goal,[37] and the other children were also moved inland, perhaps at least to Thebes.[38] But after the deaths of Antonius and Kleopatra, all were rounded up with the exception of Kaisarion, who was betrayed by Rhodon and killed while en route to Ethiopia, and Antyllus, who was killed in Alexandria at the altar of the Divine Julius.[39] All the others were spared, including the various foreign offspring at the court.[40] Of these, only Iotape is known by name. She was destined not to marry Alexandros Helios but was sent back to her father Artavasdes, since the possibility of handing sensitive Armenia and Media over to a son of Antonius and Kleopatra was too dangerous for Octavian even to

35 Pelling, *CAH*[2] (supra note 3), pp. 39–40. Two bronze statuettes, one in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Department of Greek and Roman Art #49.11.3) and a companion in the Walters Museum, Baltimore, have recently been suggested to represent Alexandros Helios as Prince of Armenia: Guy Weill Goudchaux, "Cleopatra's Subtle Religious Strategy," *Cleopatra*, p. 139; see also *Cleopatra*, pp. 250–1, no. 270.

36 Plutarch, *Antonius* 72.

37 Plutarch, *Antonius* 81. The monsoon route to India had been discovered less than a century previously and was a Ptolemaic monopoly (infra, pp. 228–30), so India might have seemed an ideal ultimate place of refuge.

38 Synkellos 583.

39 Suetonius, *Augustus* 17.5; Dio 51.15. On the situation with the children after Actium, see Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 279. The tutors Euphronios and Rhodon disappear from the record at this time. Theodoros was executed for stealing Antyllus' possessions (Plutarch, *Antonius* 81). Conspicuously absent in these last days is Nikolaos of Damaskos, who may have been successful in suppressing his role, or, more likely, had wisely fled to Herod in Judaea, beginning forty years of service to that dynasty, and thus saving both his life and his career. In fact, a number of scholars and intellectuals moved from the Alexandrian court to Judaea at this time (Roller, *Herod*, pp. 55–7).

40 According to Dio (51.15.6), Alexandros Helios and Ptolemaios Philadelphos were spared out of consideration for Kleopatra Selene and Juba, an anachronism that confuses the situation in 30 BC with that of several years later, as Juba would hardly have been a factor in the events of the fall of Alexandria. Dio's statement may reflect Octavian's desire not to kill the boys and eventually to use them in dynastic plans, as he would Kleopatra Selene. On the sparing of the twins, see Meiklejohn (supra note 23), pp. 191–4. It is remotely possible that the boys grew to adulthood and lived out their lives in obscurity (Whitehorne [supra note 18], p. 198) and that this was reflected by Dio, but given the notoriety of their parents this is hard to imagine.

contemplate.[41] Some of the foreign children at the court were married to each other, others returned home, and some, along with the three children of Antonius and Kleopatra, were sent to Rome and Octavia.[42] Thus Octavia's already large household now included the six surviving children of her late husband Antonius: Kleopatra's Kleopatra Selene, Alexandros Helios (both 10), and Ptolemaios Philadelphos (about 6), Fulvia's surviving son Iullus Antonius (aged 13), and Octavia's own two children by Antonius, the two Antoniae, ages 9 and 6. The combined and neighboring families of Octavia and Octavian now contained over a dozen children: these six, Octavian's daughter Julia (aged 9), his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus (aged 12 and 8), Octavia's two Marcellae (of uncertain age but in their mid-teens), and her Marcellus (aged 12), as well as assorted foreigners, some, unknown by name and presumably obscure, brought from Alexandria, as well as Hyginos (about 20 and on the verge of obtaining his freedom) and, of course, Juba, now about 18.

Like that of her future husband, Kleopatra Selene's introduction to Rome was at a triumph, the triple triumph of August 29 BC after Octavian's leisurely return to Rome. The first day was devoted to Illyricum, the second to Actium, and the third to Egypt, on which the twins participated as a symbolic Moon and Sun.[43] Conspicuously absent is Ptolemaios Philadelphos, who had already vanished from the record, and the triumph is the last mention of Alexandros Helios. There is no reason to assume that they were murdered,[44] as this would make little sense, especially in the case of Ptolemaios Philadelphos. Why would he be saved at Alexandria but killed within the year, before the triumph, and why would the younger and less threatening be murdered first? Plutarch explicitly wrote that all Antonius' children

41 She married Mithradates III of Kommagene and became the matriarch of the Kommagenian royal line: see Richard D. Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene," *ANRW* 2.8, 1977, 780–98; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 297.

42 The children of Antonius and Kleopatra were Octavian's stepnephews and stepniece, which may have been reason to save them. Kaisarion would have been only a cousin. But Octavian may also have felt a sense of obligation because they were the heirs to the Ptolemaic royal line, and Ptolemaios XII Auletes – the children's grandfather – some twenty-five years previously had asked Rome to insure the accession of his own heirs (Ptolemaios XIII and Kleopatra VII), a major reason Pompeius, Caesar, and even Antonius were drawn into Egyptian dynastic politics. It is conceivable that Octavian considered returning one of the children to the throne of Egypt as a way of fulfilling the wishes of Ptolemaios XII, but if he had any such ideas they were soon forgotten. See the discussion in Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 136–7. On the ambivalent attitude toward the children of Antonius, see Joël Le Gall, "Successeurs d'Auguste mais descendants d'Antoine," *BAntFr* 1987, pp. 223–9.

43 Eusebios, *Chronicle* 2.140 (ed. Schoene); Zonaras 10.31 (531). Kleopatra Selene's participation in this triumph was an ironic reflection of Horace's almost contemporary words about her mother (*Odes* 1.37.30–2): "unwilling to be escorted as a private citizen in savage Liburnians to a proud triumph: she was no humble woman" ("saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens / privata deduci superbo / non humilis mulier triumpho"). On the triumph see Ettore Pais, *Fasti triumphales populi romani* (Rome: Nardecchia, 1920), pp. 305–12.

44 As Pelling (Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, supra note 16), p. 64, believed, following Syme (supra note 3), p. 300.

except Antyllus were saved by Octavian and that they entered Octavia's household,[45] by which time any elimination would have been meaningless. It is better to assume that they died naturally, Ptolemaios Philadelphos in the winter of 30–29 BC (the 6-year-old had known nothing but the mild winters of Egypt), and Alexandros Helios sometime after 29 BC, but before he was old enough to figure in the Augustan dynastic plans implied by Dio.[46] As he was already 11, he died within the next few years, certainly before military and marriageable age.[47]

Kleopatra Selene thus became the only surviving child of Kleopatra VII, growing to maturity amid the Octavian brood. Before long, the matter of her marriage would arise: Augustus was adamant that the foreign children in his extended family be treated as his own.[48] He may have thought Kleopatra Selene a suitable match for Juba when he began to consider placing him on the Mauretanian throne, since it would return her to her native continent and there were long-standing connections between the Ptolemies and northwest Africa. But it was allegedly Octavia who promoted the marriage between these two of her charges.[49] For the marriage to be valid to the Romans, both would have to be of legal age and Roman citizens.[50] Juba was already of marriageable age when Kleopatra Selene arrived in Rome, and she would reach proper age (14–16)[51] in 26–24 BC, roughly the time Juba went to Mauretania. Juba became a Roman citizen, presumably before his marriage, but the status of Kleopatra Selene is uncertain: her father was a Roman citizen,[52] but what of her mother? The Roman

45 Plutarch, *Antonius* 87.1.

46 Dio 51.15.5–7. One is reminded of Lucretius' comments (6.1103–9) on the negative effects of a change of climate on people. Mortality seems to have been the highest in Rome during the summer (Walter Scheidel, *Measuring Sex, Age, and Death in the Roman Empire: Explorations in Ancient Demography* [*JRA Supplement* 21, 1996], pp. 139–63), but it is more likely that the boys were fatally affected by the chilly, damp winters.

47 Grant's suggestion (supra note 15), p. 231, based on a loose reading of Dio 51.15.6, that the boys went to Mauretania with their sister, is intriguing but totally unsupported, and does not account for their complete disappearance from the record. Had these royal children reached maturity, there would be issues of marriage and suitable royal positions, which would certainly have been mentioned by Plutarch in those chapters of his biography of Antonius in which he discussed the destinies of the other children.

48 Suetonius, *Augustus* 48.

49 Plutarch, *Antonius* 87. Octavia appears as a frequent matchmaker among her children, actual and adopted, although Pelling (Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, supra note 16), p. 325, would see this as a consistent tendency by Plutarch to enhance her status.

50 On citizenship and marriage, see Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 43–9.

51 J. P. D. V. Balsdon, *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* (London: Bodley Head, 1962), p. 173; Treggiari (supra note 50), pp. 39–43. Actual ages of marriage may have been slightly later, in the late teens. See Brent D. Shaw, "The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage: Some Reconsiderations," *JRS* 77, 1987, 30–46.

52 Antonius' Roman citizenship would not have devolved on his offspring if their mother were not also a citizen, unless there were some special arrangement (Treggiari [supra note 50], pp. 45–9).

propaganda machine of the 30s BC had made much of Antonius' illegal "marriage" to a foreign queen,[53] but this does not really address the matter of Kleopatra VII's citizenship.[54] Although no record survives, it is probable that she was a Roman citizen herself.[55] Such a conclusion must remain hypothetical, but citizenship was frequently bestowed in the East during the first century BC, reaching petty dynasts such as Antipatros of Askalon and Polemon I of Pontos. Thus it is difficult to imagine that the major kings were not also recipients.[56] The Ptolemies, one of the oldest eastern allies of Rome, may have received citizenship at the time of the restoral of Ptolemaios XII in 55 BC by Gabinius and Antonius, if not before, or during Julius Caesar's time in Egypt. Or Antonius, always lavish with such bestowals, may have given it directly, either to Kleopatra VII or to her children.[57] If citizenship were not specifically granted to her, Antonius could have bestowed the privilege of *conubium* – legal marriage to a Roman – which, although rare, would have been within his triumviral powers and would have ensured citizenship for the children.[58] If any of these was the case, and

53 For the issues and problems, see Syme (supra note 3), pp. 261, 273–4, 277, 280; Reinhold (supra note 19), pp. 220–2; Scott (supra note 1), pp. 36–7.

54 Unless this is the point made by Octavian when he had a public reading of Antonius' will, since it publicized Antonius' large legacy to Kleopatra Selene and Alexandros Helios (Dio 50.3.5; Suetonius, *Augustus* 17.1–2), an outrageous act if their mother were a foreigner, and so foolish even for Antonius that forgery has long been suspected: as Syme (supra note 3), p. 282, pointed out, it was "an opportune discovery." Yet if it were a forgery, one would have expected the forgers to have made a far stronger case against Antonius, as the will only contains provisions that could easily have been predicted from Antonius' known actions. Thus one can argue both ways about the authenticity: see John Crook, "A Legal Point about Mark Antony's Will," *JRS* 47, 1957, 36–8; Scott (supra note 1), pp. 41–3, who believed that it was forged; and John Robert Johnson, "The Authenticity and Validity of Antony's Will," *AntCl* 47, 1978, 494–503, who equally convincingly demonstrated the opposite.

55 This was first proposed by Lily Ross Taylor in her review of *Papers Presented to Hugh Macilwain Last*, *AJP* 80, 1959, 102–3; see also Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 39–40, and David C. Braund, "Client Kings," in *The Administration of the Roman Empire (241 BC–AD 193)*, ed. David C. Braund, Exeter Studies in History 18, 1988, pp. 82–3, where it is obliquely hinted. Johnson (supra note 54), p. 503, called it "likely" and noted that such citizenship would solve the questions about Antonius' will.

56 On citizenship for royal foreigners, see Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 39–53. The commonness of Antonii in the East is one indication of how frequently Antonius bestowed it (A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, second edition [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973], pp. 309–10). But nowhere is there any record of citizenship for the Ptolemies, who may not have seen it as an enhancement to their status.

57 At least one freedman with the name Antonius was at the Mauretanian court (*CIL* 8.9344), which implies that Kleopatra Selene may have adopted her father's name, an implication of citizenship directly conferred.

58 The matter of *conubium* is discussed by Treggiari (supra note 50), pp. 43–9. On the legalities of the marriage of Antonius and Kleopatra, see Edoardo Volterra, "Ancora sul matrimonio di Antonio con Cleopatra," in *Festschrift für Werner Flume zum 70. Geburtstag* 1, Cologne: O. Schmidt, 1978, pp. 205–12; David A. Cherry, "The Marriage of Roman Citizens and Non-citizens: Law and Practice" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1985), pp. 137–41.

there is no documentation, one would not expect the Augustan cleansing of the record to have preserved it. But it is thus probable that Kleopatra Selene was already a Roman citizen when she came to Rome. If not, she received citizenship before her marriage, as did the other foreigners in the imperial family, Juba and Hyginos, and when she came of age there was no legal reason that she and Juba could not marry.

The few sources that mention the marriage give no hint as to the date.[59] It has been assumed that there was a betrothal as early as 29 BC, but this seems based on nothing more than the confused passage of Dio and his assertion that Octavian spared Alexandros Helios and Ptolemaios Philadelphos out of consideration for Kleopatra Selene and Juba, which as previously noted is an unlikely situation.[60] The most probable year for the marriage would be 25 BC, when Kleopatra Selene was of proper age and Juba was sent to rule Mauretania, for to send him with a suitable wife would have been appropriate, even essential.[61] But there is no evidence of the marriage until Juba's sixth regnal year, when the monarchs appear jointly on coins.[62] This was 20–19 BC, when Kleopatra Selene turned 21, and this has been accepted as the date of their marriage by many commentators.[63] But regnal years appear infrequently on Juba's coins, especially (it seems) the earlier ones, so the matter is not certain. Moreover, if the wedding did not occur until 19 BC, this means that Kleopatra Selene and Juba were married at significantly later ages than any of the other imperial children – Julia was married by 16, Tiberius and Drusus by 23 – seemingly violating the Augustan law that stressed marriage for women by age 20 and for men by 25.[64] Kleopatra Selene's future husband left Rome in 25 BC, when she was already of age, and it seems highly improbable that the marriage was postponed beyond this date. The coin of 19 BC provides a *terminus ante quem* but is unlikely to have

59 Plutarch, *Antonius* 87; Dio 51.15.6; *Souda*, Ἰοβάς.

60 Jacoby, *RE* 2385; Balsdon (supra note 51), p. 74. It seems unlikely, as recently argued by Coltelloni-Trannoy (p. 36), that this proves Octavian had decided as soon as the fall of Alexandria to establish a client kingdom in Mauretania. However far-thinking he was, this seems premature in 30 BC.

61 Walter Thieling, *Der Hellenismus in Kleinafrika: Der griechische Kultureinfluss in den römischen Provinzen Nordwestafrikas* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), p. 19.

62 Mazard #357.

63 Gsell 8.218; Duncan Fishwick and Brent D. Shaw, "Ptolemy of Mauretania and the Conspiracy of Gaetulicus," *Historia* 25, 1976, 492; Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 36; Jean Mazard, "Un Denier inédit de Juba II et Cléopâtre-Séléné," *SchwMbll* 31, 1981, 1–2. Other suggested dates are 25 BC (Thieling [supra note 61], p. 19); 23 BC (H. Pavis d'Escurac, "Les Méthodes de l'impérialisme romaine en Maurétanie de 33 avant J.-C. à 40 après J.-C.," *Ktema* 7, 1982, 225); and 20 BC (Balsdon [supra note 51], p. 74 and Stähelin [supra note 13], p. 784). Jacoby (*RE*, p. 2385) would only commit himself to no later than 20 BC.

64 Although the legislation is slightly later (18 BC), it presumably finalizes the maturing of Augustus' thinking over the previous years. On this law, see Susan Treggiari, "Social Status and Social Legislation," *CAH*^{2} 10, 1996, 887–9; Balsdon (supra note 51), pp. 76–7; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* (supra note 50), pp. 60–80. The exact ages are uncertain (p. 66).

commemorated the marriage; perhaps it was in honor of the fifth anniversary of a wedding at the end of 25 BC, when Kleopatra Selene was about the same age as Livia and Julia at their marriages. But any hypothesis, other than before 19 BC, is questionable because of the lack of dated coins.

Nevertheless, the 20s BC saw marriages throughout the imperial family. Julia and Marcellus, first cousins, were married in 25 BC after Augustus' return from Spain:[65] Marcellus' death within two years saw Julia soon married to M. Vipsanius Agrippa. The elder Antonia married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, an enigmatic character who made a long career out of inconspicuousness,[66] perhaps around the time of his aedileship in 22 BC. Augustus' stepsons were betrothed – Tiberius to Agrippa's daughter Vipsania, Drusus to the younger Antonia – but the weddings did not occur until 20 and 16 BC. One of the Marcellae married first M. Agrippa and then Antonius' son Iullus Antonius; the other Paullus Aemilius Lepidus (consul in 34 BC), nephew of the triumvir and Octavian's major crony in that family.[67] By 20 BC Octavia's household was depleted. The absence of Alexandros Helios and Ptolemaios Philadelphos from these arrangements is further proof of their demise: everyone else in the extended families of Octavia and Augustus is accounted for.[68]

The marriage of Kleopatra Selene and Juba was commemorated by Krinagoras of Mytilene. He had been a Mytilenean ambassador to Rome and came to the city in 45 BC, when he met Julius Caesar.[69] It is perhaps significant that Kleopatra VII was also there. Krinagoras' exact movements during his long life are not clear, but the fifty-one epigrams ascribed to him show an intimacy with Augustus and his family: mentioned are the Princeps himself, Marcellus, an Antonia, Tiberius, and Germanicus.[70] He may have spent time in Alexandria[71] and even at the court of Herod the Great[72] before coming to Rome in the early 20s BC, perhaps as one of the imperial tutors.[73] He may also have participated, again as a Mytilenean ambassador, in an embassy to Augustus in Spain in 26 or 25 BC,[74] the very time and place Juba was made king. Since he lived to write about Germanicus[75] and could not

65 Dio 53.27.5.

66 Syme (supra note 3), pp. 421–2.

67 Syme (supra note 3), p. 237.

68 The source for these marriages is almost totally Plutarch, *Antonius* 87, excepting only Tiberius and Vipsania (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7; Velleius 2.96; Tacitus, *Annals* 1.12; Dio 54.31) and Marcella and Lepidus, for which see *PIR*^{2} C1103; see also Balsdon (supra note 51), pp. 71–5.

69 *IG* 12.2.35B.

70 A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), vol. 2, pp. 210–13.

71 #20, Gow and Page (supra note 70), vol. 2, p. 227.

72 Roller, *Herod*, pp. 62–3.

73 J. S. Phillimore, "Crinagoras of Mytilene," *Dublin Review* 139, 1906, 78.

74 *IG* 12.2.35C; Krinagoras #16, 29, 30, 32.

75 Krinagoras #26.

have been born after about 65 BC, he had an especially long life, seemingly still active into his eighties.

The epigram in question is number 25, which tells of a marriage between children of kings, one associated with Egypt, the other with Libya:

> Great neighboring regions of the world, which the Nile, swollen from black Ethiopia, divides, you have created common kings for both through marriage, making one race of Egyptians and Libyans. Let the children of kings in turn hold from their fathers a strong rule over both lands.[76]

Although there are apparent problems with the epigram, mostly geographical, it is generally accepted that the marriage referred to is that of Juba and Kleopatra Selene.[77] Given the status of Egypt in the Augustan era, and the fact that Kleopatra Selene was the sole survivor of the Egyptian royal dynasty, it is almost impossible to suggest any alternative.[78] Unfortunately the date of composition of the epigram is unknown and thus it provides no hint as to the timing of the marriage.[79]

76 ἄγχουροι μεγάλαι κόσμοι χθόνες, ἃς διὰ Νεῖλος
πιμπλάμενος μελάνων τέμνει ἀπ' Αἰθιόπων
ἀμφότεραι βασιλῆας ἐκοινώσασθε γάμοισιν,
ἓν γένος Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης θέμεναι.
ἐκ πατέρων εἴη παισὶν πάλι τοῖσιν ἀνάκτων
ἔμπεδον ἠπείροις σκῆπτρον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις.

77 Gsell (vol. 8, p. 218) felt that the epigram was not by Krinagoras, and that it commemorated the marriage of Ptolemaios III and Berenike II of Kyrene, in the mid-third century BC, a view followed by Grace Harriet Macurdy, *Vassal-Queens and Some Contemporary Women in the Roman Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937), p. 54. But this seems unnecessary and somewhat convoluted, given the authority of Krinagoras' authorship.

78 Although it is clear that Kleopatra Selene saw her son Ptolemaios as a successor to the Egyptian dynasty – hence his name – the allusions in the poem become even more remote if applied to him.

79 Another epigram of this period may also mention Kleopatra Selene, *Palatine Anthology* 9.752 (=Asklepiades #44, in A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968], vol. 2, pp. 148–9), which describes a ring cameo of Methe in amethyst belonging to a certain Queen Kleopatra. Two alternative authors are given in the *Palatine Anthology*, Asklepiades and Antipatros of Thessalonika. If it is the former, any connection with Kleopatra Selene can immediately be dismissed, for Asklepiades lived in the early third century BC (see Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, vol. 2, pp. 114–18). But the possibility of authorship by Antipatros means the epigram may be Augustan. The evidence for this date is based on his mention of a number of personalities of the Augustan period, especially L. Calpurnius Piso (#1, 30, 31, 41), perhaps his patron, the consul of 15 BC and the brother of Calpurnia, Julius Caesar's wife. Also mentioned are C. Caesar (#46), grandson of Augustus, and a certain Kotys (#48), the name of several kings of Thrace, Armenia, and Bosporos, in this case probably the son of Rhoimetalkes (*PIR*^{2} C1551) who ruled *ca.* AD 12–19 (Gow and Page, *The Garland of Philip* [supra note 70], vol. 2, p. 59). Thus Antipatros was active in the latter years of Augustus and into the reign of Tiberius. At that time there were few notable women named Kleopatra, and only one who could be called a queen. Kleo-

Assuming that the epigram refers to Kleopatra Selene and Juba, one must allow for a Homeric definition of "Libya" as North Africa west of Egypt.[80] Thus Krinagoras might (subtly) have reminded his readers that in theory Kleopatra Selene had been queen of Kyrenaika. A minor point is that she was not the child of a king – whatever Antonius' pretenses were, no Augustan poet would have validated them – but she was the granddaughter of one and daughter of a queen. The largest problem, however, is geographical, for no one would ever consider that the Nile separated these "neighboring regions." Again one may need to look no further than poetic license, as the Nile was the most conspicuous feature of North Africa, and rivers had a traditional role as a dividing line. But the Nile had long been believed to rise in or near Mauretania, and Juba himself was to address issues regarding its source and course.[81] So to see the river as a crucial factor in the cultural union represented by the marriage of Juba and Kleopatra Selene is quite appropriate: the Nile, the best-known feature of Egypt, had its source in Mauretania, and its upper and lower parts were thus joined through the marriage.[82] Perhaps Krinagoras also used τέμνω in a Homeric sense, to "mark off" or even "cut through."[83]

Thus by 19 BC, and probably several years earlier, Kleopatra Selene had left Octavia's household to join Juba and to become queen of Mauretania. She perhaps retained in her mind at least some feeling of a hereditary claim to her mother's possessions, and even her brief and theoretical rule over Kyrenaika – although such attitudes, bordering on treason, would have been discreetly withheld in the Augustan world. Despite the Augustan negative feeling toward both her parents, there is little doubt that she honored her ancestry as a descendant both of the Ptolemies and of the Antonii, which gave her a longer Roman lineage than the Octavii.[84] She was a conspicuous and early example of the mingling of Roman aristocracy and Greek royalty

patra Selene is the only possibility if the poem reflects the later Augustan period (Conrad Cichorius, *Römische Studien* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1922], pp. 331–2), yet the authorship remains uncertain and cannot be attributed with certainty on the present evidence, although an intriguing connection is the interest in gems at the Mauretanian court (infra, pp. 150–1).

80 *Odyssey* 4.85, essentially the definition used by Juba in his *Libyka* (infra, p. 85).

81 Infra, pp. 192–6.

82 Much of this has been admirably argued by David C. Braund, "*Anth. Pal.* 9.235: Juba II, Cleopatra Selene and the Course of the Nile," *CQ* 34, 1984, 175–8, but it seems unlikely that Juba's fame as a geographer and explorer was already established by the time of his marriage, although the belief that the Nile originated in West Africa long antedated Juba.

83 *Iliad* 6.194, 13.707.

84 Aside from some legendary Octavii of pre-republican times, the family does not seem to be documented before the third century BC (Suetonius, *Augustus* 1–3). In fact, questions about Octavian's ancestry were persistent, and were frequent in the charges made against him by Antonius, especially in the late 40s BC. See Scott (supra note 1), pp. 12–17. The Antonii appear in Roman history as early as the fifth century BC (Livy 3.35.11; Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Archaeology* 10.58).

that was to become standard during the later empire. Yet she was totally her mother's daughter,[85] as she instilled in her husband – perhaps from the time they were childhood playmates in Octavia's home – a particular interest in her ancestral territory and traditions, which were to have a direct influence on Juba's interests and scholarship. As the daughter of a Greek queen and of one of the most important Romans of the previous generation, she brought greater stature to the Mauretanian court than did Juba, who was unlikely to have had either Greek or Roman ancestry. She was queen of Mauretania and retained her title as queen of Kyrenaika, or even Libya.[86] She could also claim to be queen of Egypt, and thus theoretical ruler of all northern Africa except the Roman province of Africa. However questionable these claims might have seemed in Rome, they gave her immense power and prestige in Africa. One can only imagine that Kleopatra Selene exercised a role at the Mauretanian court much as her surrogate mother Octavia and her step-aunt Livia did in Rome. Octavia and Livia have been identified as two parts of a "triumvirate of exceptional women" who were dynamic as significant players in the creation of Augustan Rome.[87] The third member of this triumvirate is Kleopatra VII. After her death, her daughter must take her place in this exalted company. Unfortunately, Kleopatra Selene virtually vanishes from the extant literature after her marriage. The only further citations are to her children. Even the date of her death is a matter of controversy.[88]

85 Despite contemporary Roman attitudes, Kleopatra Selene was not reluctant to call attention to her mother on her own coins, some of which have the legend ΒΑCΙ ΚΛΕΟ ΚΛΕΟΠΑ ΘΥΓΑ (Jean Mazard, *SchwMbll* [supra note 63], pp. 1–2).

86 In addition to Krinagoras' wedding epigram, her retention of her claim as queen of Kyrenaika is supported by the continuation of her crocodile coin types from the time of the Donations of Alexandria to her maturity in Mauretania (Figure 26c, d, p. 246; supra, note 28), Juba's use of the title *Libyka* for his treatise on North Africa, and the close relations that the Mauretanian kingdom maintained with Kyrene (Dieter Salzmann, "Porträtsiegel aus dem Nomophylakeion in Kyrene," *BJ* 184, 1984, 152).

87 For the roles of Livia and Octavia, see Diana E. E. Kleiner, "Imperial Women as Patrons of the Arts in the Early Empire," in *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, ed. Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Art Gallery, 1996), pp. 28–41, and on the position of Augustan women generally, Susan Fischler, "Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of the Imperial Women at Rome," in *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, ed. Léonie J. Archer *et al* (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 127–30.

88 Infra, pp. 249–51. Like the case of Calpurnia (supra, Chapter 3, note 23), her near-invisibility is vivid testimony to the treatment of women in the sources, not of her lack of importance.

5

THE MAURETANIAN CLIENT KINGDOM

Foundation, military history, and economy

Astonishingly little detail is preserved about the sixty-five years of the Mauretanian client kingdom. There is no known royal chronicler in the fashion of Nikolaos of Damaskos at the court of Herod the Great. Understanding relies on casual statements by those recording the periods of Augustus and Tiberius, epigraphical and numismatic material, inferences from Juba's own writings, the physical evidence of the territories, and extrapolation from the political and cultural situation in northwest Africa prior to 25 BC and in the neighboring Roman provinces. Information is most available at times of difficulty, especially along the frontier, when Roman assistance was necessary.

The background

The nature of the kingdom – and indeed its very existence – depended on events of the two decades between the Battle of Thapsus and the appointment of the monarchs as rulers of Mauretania. During these years North Africa was far from quiet.[1] The region continued to be embroiled in the Roman civil war, creating an instability that was paramount in Augustus' mind whenever he began to formulate the idea that Juba II and Kleopatra Selene would best locally represent Roman interests.

After Thapsus, Caesar promptly turned the former territory of Juba I into the new province of Africa Nova.[2] The first governor[3] was Sallust, whose strange, mixed career had not prevented him from somehow gaining Caesar's confidence.[4] Although more experienced men were available, it may have been Sallust's abilities at military logistics that Caesar believed

1 The most extensive modern sources for this period are C. R. Whittaker, "Roman Africa: Augustus to Vespasian," *CAH*[2] 10, 1996, 586–93; Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 156–205; Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 129–64.

2 *De bello africo* 97; Appian, *Civil War* 4.53; Dio 43.9; Leo Teutsch, *Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 120–6.

3 On the governors of the African provinces during these years, see W. Sternkopf, "Die Verteilung der römischen Provinzen vor dem mutinensischen Kriege," *Hermes* 47, 1912, 328–39; Yann Le Bohec, "Le Proconsulat d'Afrique d'Auguste à Claude: questions de chronologie," *BAAlg* 7, 1977–9, 129–53; and the relevant magistrates in Broughton.

qualified him to organize a new province. But this proved to be one of Caesar's worst decisions, as Sallust seems to have been disgraceful in his administration, plundering the province. Summoned to trial at the end of 45 BC, he managed to escape prosecution in Caesar's last days and wisely retired from politics to write history.[5] He was replaced by another Caesarean, T. Sextius, who had been with the Dictator in Gaul,[6] and who was to serve in Africa until 40 BC, when he was replaced by M. Aemilius Lepidus.[7] Meanwhile, in the original African province, now called Africa Vetus, whose governorship was vacant owing to the death of Scipio, Caesar chose C. Calvisius Sabinus,[8] who had been with him in Greece in 48 BC. Sabinus was followed by a series of governors who were often at odds with each other and with the governor of Africa Nova, until Lepidus took control of both provinces in 40 BC. In addition to placing loyal men in command, Caesar's policy toward Africa also included settlement. Hence there was a steady stream of Roman emigration into the two Africas continuing into the Augustan period,[9] probably including a significant portion of the 80,000 people Caesar sent from the city of Rome to overseas settlements.[10]

To the west, beyond the Roman provinces, the situation was in flux. Sittius was rewarded for his services at Thapsus with territory in the vicinity of Cirta, which may have been either a discrete enclave, or outside the Roman provincial boundaries.[11] In taking his reward he soon deposed the petty King Arabion, perhaps a descendant of King Gauda of Numidia, whose family had ruled the territory for half a century.[12] Arabion fled to the Pompeius brothers in Spain and waited for his opportunity. Sittius brought his followers to his new territory and briefly ruled as local potentate, perhaps

4 Sallust is first noticed as tribune in 52 BC. Implicated in the riots following the death of Clodius that year, he was expelled from the Senate in 50 BC. During the civil war he had been involved in a number of Caesarean operations, most recently a logistical command in the African campaign. See Ronald Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 29–38.

5 The sources for Sallust's governorship and its aftermath are *De bello africo* 97; Appian, *Civil War* 4.53; Dio 43.9; and the treatise known as *In Sallustium Crispum Oratio* 19–20, a contemporary political invective of uncertain authorship (see Syme [supra note 4], p. 299). On the situation generally, see Syme, pp. 38–40.

6 Caesar, *Bellum gallicum* 6.1.1.

7 Appian, *Civil War* 5.53; Dio 48.20.4, 23.4–5.

8 Cicero, *Philippic* 3.26.

9 See Dio 43.50, regarding Carthage.

10 Suetonius, *Julius* 42.1; on this generally, see Whittaker (supra note 1), pp. 587–9; Teutsch (supra note 2), pp. 99–120.

11 Appian, *Civil War* 4.54; Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 157–9. On Sittius and Cirta, see Teutsch (supra note 2), pp. 65–77; on the eventual status of Cirta and its exclusion from Juba's kingdom, see T. R. S. Broughton, *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929), pp. 71–6.

12 Arabion's father was Massinissa (II) (Appian, *Civil War* 4.54), perhaps a son of Masteabar the son of Gauda; see supra, p. 25; infra, Appendix 2; and Gabriel Camps, "Les Derniers Rois numides: Massinissa II et Arabion," *BAC* n.s. 17b, 1981 (1984), 303–11.

even striking his own coins.[13] Cirta may also have received colonial status, as Italian merchants had been in the city for nearly a century.[14]

Farther west were the territories of Bocchus II and Bogudes II, relatives who regarded each other uneasily. Here too the Roman presence was increasing, and Roman citizenship was soon to be awarded to selected local inhabitants.[15] Bocchus and Bogudes seem to have had their status as virtual client kings confirmed after Thapsus, when they latinized their coin legends.[16] Thus they ruled a vast undefined district from the western edge of the Roman provinces to the Atlantic, nearly 1,000 miles away, including traditional Mauretania and much of western Numidia. Population was centered around Iol, Bocchus' capital, and in the extreme west, from Tingis south to Volubilis, Bogudes' capital. Because of its closeness to Roman territory, this western region had been under Roman influence since the second century BC.[17]

It is not known how Caesar's settlement of North Africa might have evolved, for everything fell apart with his assassination and the renewed civil war. Africa became one of the main theaters of the war between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompeius the Younger, and continued to be a matter of concern to Octavian until after Actium. Immediately after Caesar's death, Arabion was persuaded by his Spanish host Pompeius to return to his ancestral lands and to remove Sittius and Bocchus.[18] He succeeded in killing the former, while Bocchus seems briefly to have gone into exile. Arabion did not long enjoy his restoration, however, as he became involved in the rivalries between the governors of the two African provinces, and was killed by T. Sextius.[19] Violence continued until 40 BC, when Octavian placed his fellow triumvir Lepidus in charge of both provinces.[20] From this time they had a single governor, and official unification may have followed shortly thereafter.[21]

To the west, the festering rivalry between Bocchus and Bogudes reached a peak in 38 BC when Bogudes invaded Spain, allegedly at the initiative of Antonius. His own subjects rose against him, encouraged by Bocchus and

13 Mazard #530–5.

14 Whittaker (supra note 1), pp. 586–7.

15 Dio 48.45.

16 Mazard #103–6, 118–21.

17 Supra, p. 47.

18 Appian, *Civil War* 4.54–6; Cicero, *Atticus* 15.17.1.

19 Dio 48.22; on Arabion's last years, see Camps (supra note 12), pp. 308–10.

20 Appian, *Civil War* 5.53, 65; Dio 48.20.4, 23.4–5, 28.4.

21 Duncan Fishwick, "On the Origins of Africa Proconsularis, I: The Amalgamation of Africa Vetus and Africa Nova," *AntAFr* 29, 1993, 53–62; his "On the Origins of Africa Proconsularis, II: The Administration of Lepidus and the Commission of M. Caelius Phileros," *AntAfr* 30, 1994, 57–80; and his "On the Origins of Africa Proconsularis, III: The Era of the Cereres Again," *AntAfr* 32, 1996, 13–36. He argued that unification took place during the period 40–36 BC, most likely 40/39 BC, but see Michèle Coltelloni-Trannoy, "Les Liens de clientèle en Afrique du Nord, du IIe siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'au début du principat," *BAC* n.s. 24b, 1993–5 (1997), 70, who would argue for the more traditional date of 27 BC.

reinforcements from Spain: Bogudes was unsuccessful in ending the revolt and abandoned his kingdom, joining Antonius in the East. Octavian confirmed Bocchus as king of both his own and Bogudes' territories, and gave the inhabitants of Tingis Roman citizenship.[22] Bocchus now in theory ruled everything west of the province of Africa.[23] Bogudes never returned: he was detailed by Antonius in the months before Actium to defend Methone and was killed there during M. Agrippa's attack.[24] Bocchus, on the other hand, demonstrated his devotion to Rome by adopting a Roman form of numismatic titulature, REX BOCCHUS SOSI F.[25] His use of a bust of Janus on these coins may have been his Roman way of asserting the unification of Mauretania.[26]

Lepidus' command in the provinces, the confirmation of Bocchus as sole king of all territory west thereof, and the spread of Roman citizenship would appear to have stabilized northwest Africa for the first time in a decade. But this apparent stability was illusory. Lepidus was quietly consolidating a strong base of power. By 36 BC he had at his disposal a dozen legions and a thousand ships as well as numerous local forces.[27] His role in the subsequent invasion of Sicily and defeat of Sextus Pompeius is well known, as is Octavian's stripping him of his triumviral power.[28] Lepidus' activities would have seriously weakened the province of Africa, especially their frontier defenses. Octavian planned to investigate and settle affairs personally in late 36 BC, but he never made the journey and instead handed matters over to one of his most talented subordinates, T. Statilius Taurus.[29] He did what was expected of him, but the frequency of triumphs *ex Africa* over the next few years indicates that the work was not easy, owing to repeated incursions by the indigenous tribes.[30]

22 Dio 48.45.1–3. On the status of Tingis, see P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.–A.D. 14* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 251.

23 Whittaker (supra note 1), p. 590. In error is Pliny's statement (*NH* 5.16) that Juba II was the first to rule over all Mauretania, which may be an indication of the confusion among scholars regarding this period.

24 Dio 50.11.3; Strabo 8.4.3.

25 Mazard #118–21; Michel Amandry, "Notes de numismatique africaine, IV," *RN* 6. ser. 31, 1989, 80–5. His father's name, perhaps ZUSN or ZUHSN, might better have been latinized as Sussa.

26 On this, and contrary but unconvincing interpretations of the coins, see J.-G. Février, "Bocchus le Jeune et les Sosii," *Semitica* 11, 1961, 9–15; and M. Euzennat, "Le Roi Sosus et la dynastie mauretanienne," in *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie, et d'histoire offerts à Jérôme Carcopino* (Paris: Hachette, 1966), pp. 333–9; Camps (supra note 12), pp. 304–6; Michael Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946), pp. 174–6.

27 Appian, *Civil War* 5.98.

28 On Lepidus at this point in his career, see Richard D. Weigel, *Lepidus: The Tarnished Triumvir* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 81–93.

29 Dio 49.14.6, 49.34.1–2; Suetonius, *Augustus* 47; Appian, *Civil War* 5.129; Broughton, vol. 2, p. 403.

30 Statilius Taurus himself triumphed in 34 BC, and his successors L. Cornificius and L. Autronius Paetus respectively in 33 and 28 BC: see Frederick W. Shipley, "Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus," *MAAR* 9, 1931, 24–5, 30–2, 34; Whittaker (supra note 1), p. 590.

But as things were improving in the province of Africa they were deteriorating in Mauretania. Bocchus died in 33 BC,[31] apparently without an heir, leaving an immense power vacuum. What happened next is uncertain, as the only two sources are unhelpful. Strabo wrote that after the deaths of Bocchus and Bogudes, Juba inherited (παρέλαβε) the kingship.[32] This is too vague to be of much value: Bocchus and Bogudes, as noted, died several years apart, Bogudes had abrogated his kingship (and actually survived his reigning relative by two years), and there is no reason to believe that the 15-year-old Juba was made king on the death of Bocchus. More explicit is the notice by Dio that when Bocchus died, Octavian made his territory a Roman province.[33] This, however, has long been a problem for commentators. The simplest explanation is that Dio somehow skipped over the entire Mauretanian client kingship, conflating the death of Bocchus with the creation of the province of Mauretania seventy years later. Dio's errors of chronology and combining of separate events are notorious – his slips regarding the Donations of Alexandria are typical – but later he picked up the thread and placed Juba in his kingdom,[34] so his statement about the status of Mauretania after 33 BC must be considered seriously. Yet the existence of a provincial Mauretania at this time is unlikely. Such a province is lacking from Augustus' own list of those who had supported him at Actium,[35] and Dio's version of the same list includes among Octavian's allies "those belonging to Bogudes and Bocchus,"[36] which would hardly indicate provincial status. Moreover, Mauretania is conspicuously absent from the lengthy list of provinces in the settlement of 27 BC.[37] No governor or Roman official is known,[38] and the handing over of the territory to Juba eight years later would mean a rare reversion from province to client kingdom that would probably have offended everyone. Thus it seems that the easiest solution is that Dio was in error, at least in his analysis of the contemporary situation. But a coin of Juba II with the double date 48/55 may indicate that late in his reign he felt that although Augustus had given him the kingship in 25 BC, the year of Bocchus' death was also important in the history of the Mauretanian monarchy.[39]

31 Dio 49.43.7.

32 Strabo 17.3.7.

33 Dio 49.43.7.

34 Although aware of Juba's kingship, Dio had little to say about it: see 51.15.6, 53.26.2, 55.28.3, and 59.25.1.

35 *Res gestae* 25.

36 Dio 50.6.4: οἱ τοῦ Βογούου τοῦ τε Βόκγου γεγονότες.

37 Dio 53.12.4–9.

38 Whittaker (supra note 1), p. 591. It has been suggested that coins of Augustus from Iol with the legend IMP.CAESAR DIVI.F (Mazard #122–4) belong to the period between the death of Bocchus and the accession of Juba. See Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 25.

39 Jean Mazard, "Nouvel apport à la numismatique de la Numidie et de la Maurétanie," *LibAE* 4, 1956, #156[bis]. Year 48 is Juba's last regnal year, beginning in the autumn of AD 23. A date fifty-five years previous would be sometime in 32–31 BC, several months or more after Bocchus' death, and it is thus possible that the fifty-five years refers not to this but to the Battle of Actium.

Regardless of what Juba felt half a century later, the question of the exact status of Bocchus' territory during the period 33–25 BC remains unanswered.[40] Moreover, the issue is complicated by evidence for Roman colonies in Mauretania, some (particularly in the west) bearing the name Colonia Julia, and others (in the east) with the name Colonia Julia Augusta. Most of the latter are reasonably attributed to Claudius, since he was the first to make administrative decisions regarding the province established after the death of King Ptolemaios. But those in the west do not seem to use the name "Augusta" and thus may have been established before 27 BC. There are three: Colonia Julia Constantia Zulil, Colonia Julia Campestris Babba, and Colonia Julia Valentia Banasa.[41] All are in the same region of extreme northwest Africa: according to Pliny, Zulil is 25 miles from Tingis, Babba 75 miles further, in the interior, and Banasa another 75 miles onward, 35 miles from Volubilis.[42] The population of Zulil was exempt from the rule of the local kings and under the legal authority of Baetica – an anachronistic statement for Pliny's day, since there were no local kings any more – and the indigenous Mauretanian population may have been relocated across the strait to Spain in order to clear land for the new colony.[43] Thus it seems that Octavian established Roman colonies in the parts of Mauretania closest to Spain and that the settlements continued to retain some legal attachment to Spain when the territory had become a client kingdom.[44] Volubilis, Bogudes' old capital, may also have had a special arrangement with Rome.[45]

It is worth remembering the Roman political situation at the time of the death of Bocchus, 33 BC. The previous year had seen the Donations of Alexandria, one of the defining moments in the collapse of relations between Antonius and Octavian. The following year would bring Antonius' divorce

40 H. Pavis d'Escurac, "Les Méthodes de l'impérialisme romain en Maurétanie de 33 avant J.-C. à 40 après J.-C.," *Ktema* 7, 1982, 222–5; Brunt (supra note 22), pp. 595–7.

41 *NH* 5.2–5, 20–1; Pliny (ed. Desanges) pp. 79–98; Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 202–4; Nicola K. Mackie, "Augustan Colonies in Mauretania," *Historia* 33, 1983, 333–42; Teutsch (supra note 2), pp. 209–20. For a discussion of the probable location of these sites (with previous bibliography), see J. Boube, "Apropos de *Babba Iulia Campestris*," *BAMaroc* 15, 1983–4, 131–7; also Louis Chatelain, *Le Maroc des Romains*, *BÉFAR* 160, 1944, pp. 46–9, 69–76.

42 On Pliny's distances, see Maurice Euzennat, "Remarques sur la description de la Maurétanie Tingitane dans Pliny, *NH*, V, 2–18," *AntAfr* 25, 1989, 95–109.

43 Strabo 3.1.8. On the problems of reconciling Pliny's Zulil and Strabo's Zelis, which he placed in Spain, see Mackie (supra note 41), pp. 343–8; Pliny (ed. Desanges), pp. 86–7.

44 The strong connection between northwest Mauretania and Spain still existed in AD 69, when some of the territory of Mauretania Tingitana was attached to Baetica (Tacitus, *Histories* 2.58), a situation perhaps reflected in Pliny's statement about Zulil. This was an event in the short reign of the emperor Otho, who was attempting to solidify his rule by restoring an Augustan practice. On the peculiar status of Tingis and other colonies in northwest Mauretania, see Jacques Gascou, "Note sur l'évolution juridique de Tanger entre 38 avant J.-C. et le règne de Claude," *AntAfr* 8, 1974, 67–71, and Christine Hamdoune, "Note sur le statut colonial de Lixus et de Tanger," *AntAfr* 30, 1994, 81–7.

45 Michel Christol and Jacques Gascou, "Volubilis, cité fédérée?" *MÉFRA* 92, 1980, 337–43.

of Octavia and the complete breach between the two triumvirs. Moreover, the triumvirate was on the verge of expiring, which would leave Octavian particularly vulnerable.[46] A new province would require the establishment of an administration, hardly (during this crucial period) the best use of Octavian's time or manpower. It would be easier to create the proper distaste in Rome for the Donations of Alexandria and its juggling around of territory if Octavian were not seen to be doing similar things at the opposite end of the empire. The organization of Africa Nova thirteen years earlier had been assisted by the presence of Roman troops – and even then it had become a pawn in the civil war – but there is no evidence that there were any Roman officials in Mauretania in 33 BC. Octavian may already have been considering using Juba in his final disposition of the territory, but at age 15, Juba was not yet available. The recent accession to client kingship of the far more experienced and crafty Herod in Judaea in 40 BC had resulted in several years of civil war and massive Roman military aid, for which C. Sosius had triumphed *ex Judaea* just a few months before Bocchus' death.[47] Whatever happened to the territory of Bocchus, there was a potential for disaster in those difficult years of 33–32 BC.

The most that Octavian dared do was to establish a handful of colonies in the parts of Mauretania closest to Spain, an informal extension of Roman territory into the adjacent area, which had more in common with Spain, economically, culturally, and geographically, than with the contiguous African territories.[48] Yet probably even this modest effort was not fully implemented until the demobilizations after 30 BC.[49] In a region of sporadic Roman presence, indigenous tribes, and inconsistent rule by both Romans and locals, borders were fluid,[50] and support of long-existing Roman interests was wise. Creating colonies required none of the bureaucratic effort of establishing a province. And presumably there was reason to wait a few years for an ultimate solution involving Juba. It is possible that western Mauretania had some special status from 33 to 25 BC,[51] but what this was cannot be determined. Full provincial recognition seems impossible to accept, as does

46 On the intense difficulties Octavian faced at this time, see E. W. Gray, "The Crisis at Rome at the Beginning of 32 BC," *PACA* 13, 1975, 15–29.

47 Shipley (supra note 30), pp. 25–8.

48 On this, see John Spaul, "Across the Frontier in Tingitana," *Roman Frontier Studies 1995: Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, ed. W. Groenman-Van Waateringe *et al.*, Oxbow Monographs 91 (London: Oxbow, 1997), pp. 253–8; also Mohammed Majdoub, "Octavius et la Maurétanie," *AfrRom* 13, 2000, 1725–37.

49 For the view that the colonies were established only after Juba became king, see E. T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 144. Yet this seems unlikely, because of the lack of the name "Augusta" and the diminished need for veterans' colonies by 25 BC.

50 Duncan Fishwick and Brent D. Shaw, "Ptolemy of Mauretania and the Conspiracy of Gaeticulus," *Historia* 25, 1976, 492; Romanelli, *Storia*, p. 166.

51 Erich S. Gruen, "The Expansion of the Empire under Augustus," *CAH*^{2} 10, 1996, 168.

the suggestion that Roman legates took up residence in the palaces of Bocchus and Bogudes,[52] or that Juba came by his kingship gradually.[53] It is best to assume that Octavian supported an existing but faint Roman presence as much as feasible, but that his primary concerns (at least through 30 BC) were elsewhere and that he dealt with Mauretania slowly and gradually as the Roman political situation changed.[54] Even at the time of the settlement of 27 BC, Mauretania was still in limbo, as Octavian, now Augustus, departed for Spain, with Juba, now an adult, in tow, soon to make a final disposition of northwest Africa.

Augustus' interests turned to Spain in 27 BC because it was one of the provinces that had been given to him in the settlement in January of that year,[55] festering difficulties with the mountain tribes of Cantabri and Astures,[56] and because his recent preoccupation with the East meant that the West needed his attention. Late in the year he set forth, going first to Gaul and then to Tarraco in Spain (Figure 3), which he made his headquarters.[57] In his entourage were the young men of the imperial household: Marcellus, Tiberius, and Juba. Augustus was in Tarraco before the end of the year, and on 1 January 26 BC he began his eighth consulship in that city. The war against the Spanish tribes was difficult, impacting on Augustus' never strong health, and he spent most of the next two years resident in Tarraco seeking cures and dealing with administrative business while his subordinates conducted the military operations. Embassies came from India, Skythia, Parthia, and Mytilene,[58] knowing that Tarraco, not Rome, was the seat of power. Augustus' forced immobility meant that time could be spent in determining the future, and as he entered his ninth consulship in 25 BC, still in the city, many decisions were made. Colonies were founded, the most famous being Augusta Emerita, modern Mérida. From the East came word

52 Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 200–3; Arnaldo Momigliano, "I regni indigeni dell'Africa Romana," in *Africa Romana* (Milan: Hoepli, 1935), p. 100; Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 24–5.

53 Ritter, *Rom*, pp. 139–40.

54 Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 161–2; Mazard #122–4; Whittaker (supra note 1), p. 590. On his ultimate decision to involve Juba, see Vito Antonio Sirago, "Il contributo di Giuba II alla conoscenza dell'Africa," *AfrRom* 11, 1994, 303–4.

55 Dio 53.12.

56 On the military and political situation, see Géza Alföldy, "Spain," *CAH*² 10, 1996, 449–52.

57 The main ancient source for these events is Dio 53.22–8; see also John A. Crook, "Political History, 30 BC to AD 14," *CAH*² 10, 1996, 76–83; and, for Augustus' movements, Helmut Halfmann, *Itinera principum*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 2 (Stuttgart 1986), p. 157. Tarraco, which had come to prominence during the Second Punic War, had languished thereafter but in the late Republic had been revitalized as an important mercantile and trade center, and was to be a Roman colonia and provincial capital by the early empire. See Géza Alföldy, "Tarraco" (#1), *RE* Supp. 15, 1978, 584–97. Juba would not have missed the irony of having his future decided in the city that had been the headquarters of P. Cornelius Scipio the Elder (Livy 22.22), who had been killed by the cavalry of his ancestor Massinissa (Livy 25.34).

58 The Indian and Skythian visit is described by Orosius (6.21); for the others, see Halfmann (supra note 57), p. 160.

Figure 3 Tarraco (modern Tarragona), where Juba II was named king. Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

that Amyntas of Galatia had been killed in wars against mountain tribes, and thus his kingdom was turned into a province.[59] Marcellus married Augustus' daughter Julia during that year, with Agrippa in charge of the ceremonies, since the Princeps, still in poor health, returned to Rome slowly, sending Marcellus on before him. Augustus did not arrive in the city until after the beginning of 24 BC, starting his tenth consulship on the road. The destiny of Juba was also determined at this time: to be sent to rule the territory of Bocchus and Bogudes, Mauretania. The presence of the imperial entourage in Spain would naturally have led Augustus to thoughts of the situation in western Mauretania, at least, which in Roman eyes was virtually part of Spain. Juba, who was now about 23 and had proven himself, returned to Rome in the latter part of 25 BC, probably with Marcellus. He married Kleopatra Selene, perhaps at about the same time that Marcellus married Julia, and then the royal couple set out for Mauretania, probably taking up residence in Bocchus' old palace at Iol before the end of the year.

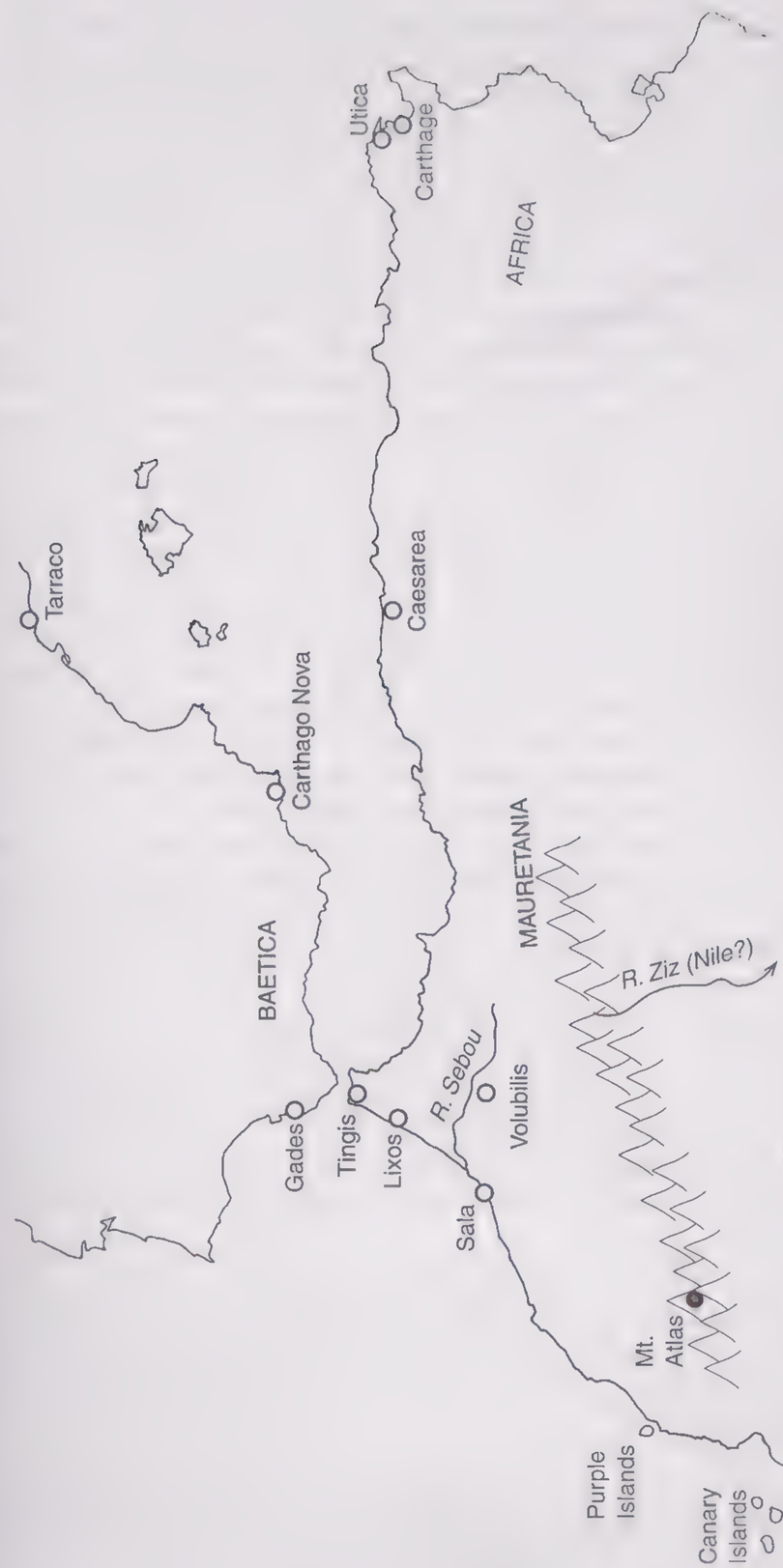
Limits of the royal territories

Because of the inconsistent and contradictory nature of the sources, which represent different information gathered at different times, there is some difficulty in determining exactly what territory Juba II and Kleopatra Selene ruled.[60] Since the time of the original Punic settlements, the urban population of what came to be called Mauretania had been centered in two major clusters, one around Iol, and the other in the west along a corridor between Tingis and Volubilis. This reflected the realities of topography and eventually led to the dual history of the indigenous Mauretanian monarchy, a situation preserved in the eventual creation of two Roman provinces, and even the modern separation of Morocco and Algeria. Scattered Roman colonies and indigenous cities with Roman population had existed since the latter part of the second century BC, and over the following century there had been an increasing degree of romanization.[61] In the hinterland were various tribes that remained free of the central government – whether indigenous or Roman – although in the later Empire these would drift into and out of

59 Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 171–4. Amyntas had fought with Antonius at Philippi, who named him king of Pisidia and Lykaonia in 39 BC, and of Galatia three years later. Like many of the eastern kings, he was with Antonius at Actium but managed to win the respect of Octavian, who confirmed his kingship. The reasons Augustus provincialized his territory five years later are not apparent, especially since Amyntas had heirs.

60 On the evidence for the frontiers of Mauretania, much of which postdates the time of the monarchy, see M. Euzennat, "La Frontière romaine d'Afrique," *CRAI* for 1990, pp. 565–80, and René Rebuffat, "Notes sur les confins de la Maurétanie Tingitane et de la Maurétanie Césarienne," *StMagr* 4, 1971, 33–64.

61 On the Roman colonies, see Mackie (supra note 41), pp. 336–50, and Brunt (supra note 22), pp. 595–7.



Map 2 Northwest Africa, 25 BC–AD 41

Roman control.[62] Yet there were frequent conflicts, as always when agriculturalists and pastoralists live in close proximity, since the increasing agrarian development in the temperate lowlands conflicted with the winter pasturage needs of the shepherds. Much of the history of this region concerns such conflicts: Volubilis, which lay close to the effective frontier, was especially subject to incursions as the transhumant population made its seasonal moves.[63] A particular problem for Juba and his successors was the Gaetulians, tribal groups throughout North Africa from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic.[64] These were the largest of the African tribes, and were noted for their warlike character.[65] Their central territory was south of Numidia, and since the time of Jugurtha they had been in contact with the Romans, having caused great difficulty for Marius.[66] Yet Marius also incorporated Gaetulians into his own forces and treated them so well that sixty years later this was the stated reason that they chose the side of Marius' nephew Julius Caesar. Caesar made good use of them, especially as cavalry, a determining factor in the outcome of the African War.[67] It is probable that rewards of land and citizenship followed.[68] Despite this early alliance with certain Roman factions, the Gaetulians were never reconciled to the central authority and would continue to be a major destabilizing factor. Since they had been opposed to Juba's father in the African War, they would be predisposed against the son. Juba II's kingdom included lands also claimed by the Gaetulians, and this aggravated the long-standing tension between the various populations, as the settlers blocked the traditional routes of the transhumants.

These issues of pastoralism and agriculturalism have thus caused some confusion regarding the exact limits of Juba's territories. Unlike the client kingdoms of the East, which had well-defined borders of ancient origin in areas of long-standing culture and civilization, Mauretania was an imprecise

62 See C. R. Whittaker, "Land and Labour in North Africa," *Klio* 60, 1978, 331–44; and Hugh Elton, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 101–4. Issues of pastoralism in the region are discussed by Philippe Leveau, "Le Pastoralisme dans l'Afrique antique," in *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge Philological Society Supp. Vol. 14, ed. C. R. Whittaker (Cambridge 1988), pp. 177–95.

63 Marlene C. Sigman, "The Romans and the Indigenous Tribes of Mauretania Tingitana," *Historia* 26, 1977, 415–39; Edmond Frézouls, "Rome et la Maurétanie Tingitane: un constat d'échec?" *AntAfr* 16, 1980, 65–93.

64 Strabo 17.3.2–3, 9, 19.

65 Sallust (*Jugurtha* 18) found them "rough and unkempt" ("asperi incultique"). Much of this was perceptual: the "civilized" Romans and the "barbarian" natives – the attitude of colonizer toward indigenous populations throughout human history. See Brent D. Shaw, "Fear and Loathing: The Nomad Menace and Roman Africa," in *L'Afrique romaine: les conférences Vanier 1980*, ed. C. M. Wells (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1982), pp. 29–50.

66 Sallust, *Jugurtha* 19, 80, 97, 99, 103.

67 *De bello africo* 32, 35, 56.

68 Marius himself may have made some of these bestowals: see Whittaker, *CAH*[2] 10 (supra note 1), p. 608; Jacques Gascou, "Le Cognomen Gaetulus, Gaetulicus en Afrique romaine," *MÉFRA* 82, 1970, 730–1.

area with no lengthy history beyond the Punic settlements on the coast. The only two sources that delineate Juba's kingdom, Strabo and Dio, are themselves in contradiction. According to Strabo, Juba was given not only Mauretania but much of the rest of Libya, and his territory was that of Bocchus and Bogudes with the addition of his ancestral lands.[69] Dio was somewhat more specific: Juba was given the territories of Bocchus and Bogudes and parts of Gaetulia instead of his ancestral lands, which had become romanized.[70] Yet Dio contradicted himself, also writing that Augustus gave Juba his ancestral lands.[71] Hence both sources are in agreement that Juba received the territory of Bocchus and Bogudes – effectively the districts around Iol and Volubilis, and in theory the vast and sparsely populated hinterland from the Ampsaga to the Atlantic – but there is uncertainty as to what additional lands, if any, Juba may have held.

The obvious interpretation of "Juba's ancestral lands" is his father's territory of Numidia. But it seems improbable that this became part of the kingdom. Since 46 BC Numidia had been a Roman province, and just as it is unlikely that a spectral province of Tingitana reverted to royal control in 25 BC, it is even more implausible that Africa Nova, now assimilated with Africa Vetus, was itself deprovincialized, despite Juba's hereditary claim to the territory.[72] In addition to the chaos and instability this would have caused, making uncertain the status of thousands of Roman citizens (not merely a handful in a few small colonies), the economic importance of the province, especially in terms of grain imports, was well established and an essential part of the commercial functioning of the early Empire.[73] Yet one cannot blithely ignore that both Strabo and Dio wrote that Juba received his patrimony, and given the fluidity of the borders and Juba's strong claim to his father's territory, some areas along the fringes of Africa Nova, perhaps with little or no Roman population, were perhaps included in Juba's kingdom, which allowed him to assert – at least to his mentor Strabo – that he had been returned to his ancestral lands.

Strabo's belief that Juba received much of Libya can be easily dismissed as exaggeration, perhaps revealing that Strabo learned about the client kingship of his old protégé through personal sources rather than mainstream geographical and historical scholarship. Strabo may have been using "Libya"

69 Strabo 6.4.2, 17.3.7.

70 Dio 53.26.2

71 Dio 51.15.6.

72 Whittaker, *CAH*[2] 10 (supra note 1), p. 591. Deprovincialization did occur on occasion – there was a spate of it in the Levant in late Julio-Claudian times – but this was usually a mark of instability both in Rome and in the provinces. See Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.–A.D. 337* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 59–64.

73 See Whittaker, *CAH*[2] 10 (supra note 1), pp. 616–18. As early as 46 BC, Julius Caesar, on his return from Africa, boasted of the large quantities of grain and olive oil that Africa Nova would annually supply to Rome (Plutarch, *Caesar* 55).

in its generalized ancient sense of "Africa," and perhaps he was aware of Krinagoras' wedding epigram and Kleopatra Selene's claim to be queen of the Kyrenaika. Juba's *Libyka* would also have fostered the idea that he ruled Libya, and although Strabo was probably not familiar with the published treatise, he knew the thrust of Juba's scholarship.[74] Despite perceptions to the contrary, there is no evidence that Juba exercised any control over the parts of North Africa that were east of the province of Africa. Nevertheless, it was certainly believed within the royal family that this was part of their natural inheritance, as Kleopatra Selene was not only theoretical queen of the Kyrenaika but the pretender to the Ptolemaic throne in Egypt. Her autonomous powers of coinage may reflect this status.[75]

The final comment on Juba's territory, Dio's statement that he was given parts of Gaetulia, is anachronistic. The more contemporary sources, Strabo and Pliny, use only the ethnic term "Gaetuli,"[76] as would be expected for peoples who had no fixed territory. But by Dio's time this ethnic term had turned into a toponym, Gaetulia.[77] The historical events of Juba's reign make it clear that he and the Gaetulians were continually in dispute over territory, but at that time there was no defined Gaetulia.[78]

Hence Juba's territories certainly included the lands of Bocchus and Bogudes, and perhaps comprised some areas in the frontier region between Mauretania and provincial Africa that had belonged to his father. Since the urbanized districts of the kingdom were limited to the Iol and Tingis–Volubilis regions, there was a vast amount of territory that lacked a permanent population, some of which was claimed by the Gaetulians. Any title to Libya – in the sense of the district between provincial Africa and Egypt – must be seen as hyperbole based on the hereditary interests of Kleopatra Selene. Moreover, Juba had only limited control over the Roman colonies within his kingdom: Tingis and other western colonies remained enclaves governed from Baetica,[79] and Cirta was probably an enclave ruled from Africa. Thus his territory, far more amorphous than that of the eastern client kings,[80] may

74 Moreover, Dioskourides, writing not long after the king's death, called him "king of Libya" (Dioskourides 3.82 = Juba, fr. 8b).

75 Mazard #392–5; see also infra, p. 151.

76 Strabo 17.3.2, 9, 23; *NH* 5.17.

77 Despite Gsell, vol. 8, p. 159, it is unlikely that Gaetulia appeared on Agrippa's map. The late geographical works (see *GGM*), the *Divisio orbis terrarum* (26) and the *Dimensuratio provinciarum* (25), that list Gaetulia, although in part derived from the map, probably also reflect later terminology (O. A. D. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), p. 43); but see J. J. Tierney, "The Map of Agrippa," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 63c, 1963, 152–5. Pliny's use of *tota Gaetulia* (*NH* 5.30) is explicitly as an ethnic term.

78 On Juba and the Gaetulian territory, see Jehan Desanges, "Les Territoires gétules de Juba II," *REA* 66, 1964, 33–47.

79 Mackie (supra note 41), pp. 350–7.

80 Pavis d'Escurac (supra note 40) described it as "l'emploi parallèle, en Maurétanie, des deux méthodes politiques" (p. 230).

effectively have been limited to the two centers of populations that Bocchus and Bogudes had ruled.

There remains the question of exactly why Augustus sent Juba to rule Mauretania.[81] Although the situation there was unique, given its mixture of Roman colonies and indigenous population, it nonetheless was a perfect example of the type of territory Augustus found suitable for client kingship: a frontier zone with a developing Roman presence. Juba may have had some hereditary claim to the district, since the Mauretanian royal line was connected to the Numidian one.[82] Bocchus II had sons, but since they are not mentioned after 45 BC they may have died in the civil war.[83] It is probable that Bocchus knew that the son of Juba I, perhaps his closest living relative, was growing up in the imperial household, and thus he might have made some arrangement with Rome regarding the disposition of his kingdom, but this is purely hypothetical.[84]

Still, Juba needed no legal claim to the territories of Bocchus, nor to have received any of his father's kingdom, owing to the manipulation of dynastic politics by the Roman ruling elite. Client kings were regularly sent to rule a territory different from that of their ancestors. Herod the Great had only a weak claim to Judaea, whose Hasmonean line was not extinct until Herod, already king, effected the murder of Aristoboulos III:[85] Herod's only connection to the Hasmoneans was through his wife Mariamme. Amyntas of Galatia seems to have been unrelated to the Galatian royal line: like Herod, he married into it, and then succeeded his nephew (by marriage) Kastor II as king, despite the existence of Kastor's son Deiotaros Philadelphos, who became king of Paphlagonia.[86] Archelaos I of Kappadokia had no connection to the ruling dynasty: as with Amyntas, his rise to power was based on the favor of Antonius.[87] Although there were many interconnections between these dynasties, heredity was often a weaker claim than availability or Roman favor, and this seems to have been the case with Juba. He was

81 Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 209–15.

82 The families of Bocchus I of Mauretania and Jugurtha were related, but the exact connection is uncertain (Sallust, *Jugurtha* 80), and Sallust hastily pointed out that because polygamy was involved, this did not create a strong connection between the families. Thus it is unlikely that this relationship would allow Mauretania reasonably to be called the ancestral land of Juba. On this, see further, supra, pp. 48–9.

83 Dio 43.36.1. The citation is disputable, for it is unlikely that Bocchus, the supporter of Caesar, would have sent his sons to Pompeius the Younger. See Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 21.

84 Nevertheless, this has been a favorite argument of modern commentators: see Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 19–22; Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 136, 158. Such arrangements had long been a feature of the relationship between barbarian royalty and Rome, but despite interpretation of Dio 49.43.7 to assume a legacy on the part of Bocchus, the evidence is lacking. See further on royal wills, infra, pp. 272–4.

85 Josephus, *Jewish War* 1.437; *Jewish Antiquities* 15.53–6.

86 Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 170–4, stemma 3.

87 Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 183.

available, competent, had some association with the region, and thus fitted into Augustus' schemes of the creation of client kingships.[88]

Military responsibilities

Foremost among Juba's duties as client king were military responsibilities. Client kings ruled in frontier zones, and thus were inevitably involved in the defense of the empire. Yet the situation was one of anxiety, since the emperor at Rome well knew that the king could represent a threat to the empire as much as forming part of its defense: this was at the heart of the fatal conflict that erupted between the emperor Gaius and Juba's son Ptolemaios. The king had to act within an extremely narrow range of options, so that his defense of his kingdom and the frontier was not seen as dangerous to regional or imperial stability. The late Republic and early Empire are replete with examples of client kings who, wittingly or not, overstepped the limits that were considered proper Roman policy.[89] Some of the best examples come from the Herodians: Herod the Great himself found out that his military duties as client king were almost impossible to reconcile. After receiving permission from Roman officials in Syria, he attacked the Nabataeans, who were destabilizing southern Syria, but he soon received a harsh letter from Augustus terminating their friendship.[90] Some years later Agrippa I was also the recipient of imperial wrath, in this case from his close friend Claudius, because of construction of new fortifications in Jerusalem.[91] Clearly, client kings had little freedom of independent military action, but at the same time were expected to do what the Romans themselves often could not: keep the frontier zone secure and defend their own territories. Thus the kings fell into "a series of traps"[92] that made their position almost impossible.

Given the unstructured nature of Juba's kingdom, his traps were even more pernicious. Presumably it was crucial that he pacify the indigenous

88 Although it has been suggested that Juba's claim may have been in part due to a previous visit to Africa, perhaps as a Roman legate, this is unlikely (on the grounds of age if nothing else). See Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 209–10.

89 See the excellent discussion by Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 91–103.

90 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 16.271–92.

91 Josephus, *Jewish War* 5.147–55; *Jewish Antiquities* 19.326–7.

92 Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 99. Yet the kings were not totally without help from Rome: in at least one case Augustus directed the inhabitants of a district to observe Juba's territorial limits (see Jehan Desanges, "Augustus a-t-il confirmé une decision de Juba II dans l'administration interne du royaume protégé de Maurétanie?" *BAC* n.s. 23b, 1990–2 [1994], 218–19), and in another he confirmed (or perhaps requested) a decision by Juba to give special privileges to a particular district (see Mounir Bouchenaki and Paul-Albert Février, "Un 'castellum' de la region de Tipasa de Juba à Septime Severe," *BAAlg* 7, 1977–9, 193–212. Interestingly, these privileges were eventually forgotten and had to be reinstated by Septimius Severus, who invoked the names of his royal and imperial predecessors, and thereby upheld a royal decision made when a province was still a client kingdom.

population, especially the ever-active Gaetulians.[93] Juba had no lack of competent troops, since Roman military organization had long been a part of the royal administration of the African kings and chieftains. Syphax, during the Second Punic War, had a Roman centurion, a certain Q. Statorius, as his military attaché, who organized his infantry on the Roman model, allowing it to defeat the Carthaginians.[94] Juba I may have structured his army in Roman fashion,[95] and Arabion was able eventually to defeat Sittius because of the Roman training of his forces.[96] Although it is prudent to allow for some chauvinism in these repeated tales of wise barbarians intelligent enough to adopt Roman ways, it is clear that by the time of Juba II there was a history of indigenous rulers in North Africa using Roman military techniques, which was perhaps one of the reasons Augustus felt that a client king could defend the frontiers effectively. Juba himself created a palace guard in the Augustan fashion, *corporis custodes*, uniquely among the client kings,[97] and this overt imitation of a practice otherwise limited to the emperor himself seems to have caused Juba no difficulty, an indication of his unique status as the only client king actually raised by and an in-law of the imperial family, and the only one in the West. Although he lacked the ancient institutions that his eastern colleagues could draw upon, he nonetheless had greater freedom of action, and in military matters he adopted as much of the Roman model as he dared.[98]

Nevertheless, the history of his reign leaves one wondering how effective these preparations were. Although the proclivity for military details in Roman historical writers may have led them to overstate the issue, the known events of northwest Africa during Juba's reign were, for the most part, various military engagements, many with the ever-persistent Gaetulians, and it is obvious that North Africa was far from peaceful. Juba's accession in 25 BC was itself a destabilizing event, since within four years, L. Sempronius Atratinus triumphed *ex Africa*.[99] Even while he was celebrating

93 Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 227–30. The military conflicts between Juba and the native population are discussed in detail by Marguerite Rachet, *Rome et les Berbères*, Collection Latomus 110 (Brussels 1970), pp. 69–126.

94 Livy 24.48.

95 David C. Braund, "North African Rulers and the Roman Military Paradigm, *Hermes* 112, 1984, 256.

96 Appian, *Civil War* 4.54.

97 Michael P. Speidel, "An Urban Cohort of the Mauretanian Kings," *AntAfr* 14, 1979, 121–2; Braund, *Hermes* (supra note 95), pp. 255–6.

98 Caesarea also had an urban cohort, seemingly the only one outside actual Roman territory (although there was one at Carthage). See Speidel (supra note 97), pp. 121–2. On the *cohortes urbanae* generally, see Helmut Freis, *Die Cohortes Urbanae*, EpSt 2 (1967).

99 The exact circumstances are unknown. For the triumph, see Shipley (supra note 30), p. 26; it was the last known event in the long career of this officer, who lived 73–7 BC and whose activities included such varied achievements as introduction of Herod the Great to the Roman Senate and service for Antonius as a naval commander (*PIR*^{2} S260).

his triumph, his successor, L. Cornelius Balbus, was hard at work against the Garamantes, whose proficiency at warfare had been known since the fifth century BC.[100] Balbus evidently penetrated far into the desert south of Libya. He triumphed in 19 BC,[101] the final event of a long career.[102] But the Garamantes were not subdued, because a few years later it was necessary to send forth P. Sulpicius Quirinius.[103] A direct result of this decade of instability was the eventual stationing of the *legio III Augusta* in the southern part of the province of Africa.[104]

Although it is unlikely that Juba was involved in any of these expeditions,[105] which tended to occur to the east of his territories, south of Libya, they may be typical of the frontier problems he faced. Some of these disturbances may have been related to the presence of a Roman client king in western North Africa and the increasing threat that Roman expansionism held for traditional ways of life. The peculiar nature of Juba's kingdom – it was greater in extent than all the other client kingdoms combined – meant that it was largely ungovernable. Because of its thin population, frontier pressures were not as threatening as in the north or east, but nonetheless in the long run Juba failed to provide the security that the Romans were seeking. It is significant that incidents became markedly more frequent in the last decades of his reign, and that he died in the midst of a full-scale revolt by the Gaetulian auxilary Tacfarinas. Despite achieving a number of victories, Juba never seems to have mastered the situation. Having a Roman

100 Herodotos 4.174, 183; Charles Daniels, *The Garamantes of Southern Libya* (Stoughton, Wis.: Oleander Press, 1970).

101 *NH* 5.36. Pliny's source was the *acta triumphorum* (*NH* 1.5), which listed the towns that Balbus allegedly captured. The campaign was commemorated by Vergil (*Aeneid* 6.792–5), who saw the Garamantes as counterparts of the Indians at the extremity of the Augustan world. On the expedition, see Jehan Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI^e siècle avant J.-C.–IV^e après J.-C.)*, CÉFR 38 (Paris 1978), pp. 189–95; Andreas Gutsfeld, *Römische Herrschaft und einheimischer Widerstand in Nordafrika*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 8 (Stuttgart 1989), pp. 26–30. For an analysis of Pliny's toponymns, see Pliny (ed. Desanges) pp. 384–415; Pietro Romanelli, "La campagna di Cornelio Balbo nel Sud Africano," in *Mélanges offerts à Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Dakar: Novelles Éditions Africaines, 1977), pp. 429–38; for Balbus' triumph, see Shipley (supra note 30), pp. 37–8.

102 Born in Gades and not originally a Roman citizen, he first appears in the record as a Caesarean in 49 BC and eventually reached the consulship. For his triumph he built the Theater of Balbus in Rome, and then retired to his native city – where Juba was to be *duovir* (infra, pp. 156–7) – endowing further building there: see *PIR*² C1331. He is a fine early example of the assimilation of provincials into the mainstream of Roman politics and culture.

103 Florus 2.31; *PIR*² S732. For the difficulties with the career of Quirinius and the date of his campaign, see Whittaker, *CAH*² 10 (supra note 1), pp. 635–6. He may be the Quirinius who as governor of Syria was involved in the census associated with the birth of Jesus of Nazareth (Luke 2.2).

104 Yann Le Bohec, *La Troisième Légion auguste* (Paris: CNRS, 1989), pp. 335–9. It is not certain when the legion was constituted and posted – certainly by AD 6, and probably after 19 BC: see Dio 54.11.5 and 55.23.2.

105 For a contrary view, see Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 1976, p. 25.

legion stationed near the edge of his kingdom must not have been pleasant for the king: this gives a new meaning to Pliny's statement that Juba's scholarship was more memorable than his reign.[106]

The presence of a legion in northern Africa was temporarily effective, for after Quirinius' expedition there were two decades of peace. It was during this interlude that Juba made his trip to the East, and his absence may have been the catalyst for further native incursions. The first hint of renewed activity came around AD 3, when Juba was at the court of Archelaos of Kappadokia, as L. Passienus Rufus received triumphal honors for African victories.[107] Shortly thereafter, the proconsul L. Cornelius Lentulus was killed while on campaign.[108] The date is uncertain, but since Lentulus had been consul in 3 BC, he was probably Passienus Rufus' successor and was killed around AD 3 or slightly later.[109] He too had been on an expedition into the depths of the Libyan desert, since the perpetrators were the Nasamones, that wild tribe that had ranged throughout the interior, and many years previously had crossed the deserts, going perhaps as far south as the Niger and Timbuctu.[110] Clearly, the Roman presence throughout North Africa was being increasingly resented by the indigenous population, and the murder of a Roman proconsul assisted in motivating Juba to abandon his second wife Glaphyra and the scholarly enticements of the court of Archelaos and to hurry back to threatened Mauretania.

Lentulus' death inspired a full-scale operation by the indigenous populations.[111] For the first time, it appears, they demonstrated their objections to Juba's rule by moving into his kingdom[112] and, presumably, into the province of Africa. The reasons are clear: the Gaetulians – the term still used generically for many of the indigenous peoples – had been pressed by over half a century of Roman settlement. Roman expeditions had penetrated deep into the desert. Population was increasing, and the competition between pastoralist and settler was intensifying. Within the Roman territory, taxation of land was particularly offensive.[113] If there were any attempts to conscript the locals into the Roman auxiliaries – and this was certainly an issue

106 *NH* 5.16.

107 Velleius 2.116.2; *ILS* 120, 8966; Gutsfeld (supra note 101), p. 31.

108 This is based on an emendation of Ῥέντουλος in the commentary on the *Periegesis* of Dionysios by the twelfth-century scholar Eustathios (*GGM* 2, p. 253, lines 209–10): see Jehan Desanges, "Un Drame africain sous Auguste: le meurtre du proconsul L. Cornelius Lentulus par les Nasamons," in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* 2, ed. Jacqueline Bibauw, Collection Latomus 102 (Brussels 1969), pp. 197–215.

109 *PIR*² C1384; Gutsfeld's date (supra note 101), p. 32, is AD 1–4/5.

110 Herodotos 2.32–3; see Thomson, pp. 70–1.

111 Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 227–30; Gutsfeld (supra note 101), pp. 33–9.

112 Dio 55.28.3–4. Dio, with his customary vagueness, wrote that Juba was king of the Gaetulians, and ascribed the uprising to discontent with his rule and the Roman control it represented.

113 This was to be the cause of a major Nasamonian revolt during the reign of Domitian (Dio 67.4.6; see also Tacitus, *Annals* 3.40).

a decade later at the time of Tacfarinas – this too would have been a source of discontent.[114] Similar circumstances existed in many frontier zones. Elsewhere, stock causes of local dissatisfaction were to be articulately outlined by the British chieftain Galgacus: not only conscription, but taxation, confiscation of commodities, and forced labor.[115]

The Roman response to the Gaetulian uprising was a joint attack by Juba and the proconsul of Africa.[116] Juba took the initiative where his territory had been invaded, and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus moved south from his province. The campaign was not easy – many Roman lives were lost, and most likely Juba had great difficulty – but eventually it was successful. In Years 31 and 32 of his reign (AD 6–7) Juba issued a series of coins with a victory standing on the head of an elephant.[117] Lentulus received triumphal honors and the cognomen Gaetulicus, which his son was also to carry.[118] Juba's coins indicate that he also received triumphal honors. The few that are dated have Year 31 (AD 6) and various triumphal regalia, including a throne and scepter.[119] The conventional explanation has long been that these ornaments were the reward from a grateful Roman Senate,[120] but there is no proof, and Juba may merely have been representing his own triumphal regalia – one would expect him to imitate this Roman practice – perhaps an award made by his own council or people.[121] Regardless, the Gaetulian threat was one that Juba personally helped to repel, and the official view within his kingdom was that this was a significant point of his reign. It seemed to have had the effect of pacifying the region for another decade.

114 Conscription was a cause of the German revolt that occurred early in the reign of Vespasian (Tacitus, *Histories* 4.14). On conscription in Africa, see P. D. A. Garnsey, "Rome's African Empire under the Principate," in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, ed. P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 241–2.

115 Tacitus, *Agricola* 31. On native revolts generally, and their causes, see Stephen L. Dyson, "Native Revolts in the Roman Empire," *Historia* 20, 1971, 239–74. For particulars about the African situation, see his "Native Revolt Patterns in the Roman Empire," *ANRW* 2.3, 1975, 162–7, and Marcel Benabou, "L'Afrique," in *L'impero romano e le strutture economiche e sociali delle province*, Biblioteca di Athenaeum 4, ed. Michael H. Crawford (Como 1986), pp. 136–41.

116 Dio 55.28.3–5 is the main source, supplemented by Velleius 2.116, Florus 2.31, and Orosios 6.21.18. It is unlikely that *NH* 8.48 reflects Juba's role in this campaign, but see Jehan Desanges, "Un Témoignage masqué sur Juba II et les troubles de Gétulie," *AntAfr* 33, 1997, 111–13.

117 Mazard #196–201; see also #282.

118 Consul in AD 26, the younger Gaetulicus was to be implicated in a plot against the emperor Gaius and executed, which may have been one of the causes of animosity between Gaius and Ptolemaios of Mauretania: see infra, pp. 254–5.

119 Mazard #194–5. Mazard also included a third coin in the series, #193, which shows the ornaments most clearly, but its date is not certain and it may be earlier. All the coins in the series are rare.

120 Gsell, vol. 8, p. 228; see also Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 35.

121 Although the Romans gave triumphal regalia to the client kings, the kings were also known to award it to themselves (Dionysius of Halikarnassos, *Roman Archaeology* 3.61). On the history of Roman awards of such regalia to kings, see Elizabeth Rawson, "Caesar's Heritage: Hellenistic Kings and Their Roman Equals," *JRS* 65, 1975, 155–6.

The next indication of a problem is in Juba's Year 40 (AD 15). The circumstances remain obscure, but that year he issued another victory coin series.[122] It is possible that disturbances broke out upon the death of Augustus, which had occurred in August of AD 14. Whatever happened, it was a preliminary event in the major revolt of Juba's reign, that of Tacfarinas, which erupted within two years and lasted for seven. The sole informative source for this rebellion is the *Annals* of Tacitus.[123] There is no mention of it by Dio or Suetonius, and only the vaguest allusion by Velleius.[124] The Tacfarinas episode was treated in detail by Tacitus because it served his purposes, whether because of his obsession with Tiberius, his bias toward senatorial sources, or his desire to recall the great foreign wars of the past to an era lacking in such heroic exploits.[125] It may not have been as crucial an event in the defense of the empire as Tacitus implied.

Because Tacitus, with his peculiar outlook, is the only effective source, the specific reasons for the uprising are obscure. It belongs in the group of local revolts led by Roman-trained charismatic leaders who used Roman ways to move their people beyond the limitations of Roman control.[126] As Dio succinctly pointed out,[127] barbarians were becoming romanized while retaining ancestral ways, and this caused tensions and contradictions. Certainly there was also direct antagonism between Roman and native; this was bad enough in areas where the natives had become agriculturalist,[128] but worse where it was exacerbated by the historic conflicts between settler and transhumant. The Roman encroachment, tax system, and military obligations all played a role.[129]

As Tacitus recorded it, Tacfarinas,[130] who had been an auxiliary in the

122 Mazard #283.

123 Tacitus, *Annals* 2.52; 3.20–1, 32, 73–4; 4.23–6; Rachet (supra note 93), pp. 84–126; Gutsfeld (supra note 101), pp. 39–67.

124 Velleius 2.125.5; the only late epitomizer to record it is Aurelius Victor, an African by birth, and even he was brief (*De Caesaribus* 2.3).

125 Whittaker, *CAH*^{2} 10 (supra note 1), p. 594; Ronald Syme, "Tacfarinas, the Musulamii, and Thuburiscu," in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, ed. P. P. Coleman-Norton *et al.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 120; see also Olivier Devillers, "Le Rôle des passages relatifs à Tacfarinas dans les *Annales* de Tacite," in *AfrRom* 8, 1991, 203–11; Elizabeth W. B. Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army: Social, Military and Economic Aspects of the Frontier Zone* (BAR-IS 53, 1979), pp. 66–8; Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 229–30; Romanelli, Storia, pp. 231–5.

126 The most famous example is that of Arminius in Germany, which had occurred less than a decade previously: see Dyson, *Historia* (supra note 115), pp. 253–8.

127 Dio 56.18.

128 See Tacitus, *Annals* 14.31.

129 Whittaker *CAH*^{2} 10 (supra note 1), pp. 593–6; see Jean-Marie Lassère, "Un Conflit 'routier': observations sur les causes de la guerre de Tacfarinas," *AntAfr* 18, 1982, 11–25; also Vito Antonio Sirago, "Tacfarinas," in *AfrRom* 5, 1988, 199–204.

130 Although Tacitus called him a Numidian, he was actually of the Musulamii, one of the tribes of Gaetulians: see Syme (supra note 125), pp. 115–17.

Roman army, deserted and became a roving brigand, developing into an effective leader of a wide range of discontented peoples whom he organized into a Roman-style military force. By AD 17 his rebellion broke forth, and he waged war on a wide front hundreds of miles long, from Libya into Mauretania. One cannot think of it as a constant attack along this front; rather, it was a series of repeated yet insistent guerrilla actions involving a variety of tribes, with sporadic retreats into the desert to avoid Roman patrols and reprisals. At first Tacfarinas was defeated by the proconsul Furius Camillus – Tacitus was quick to point out that he was a direct descendant of the famous dictator of the early fourth century BC – who was awarded triumphal ornaments and received the acclaim of Tiberius. Juba's victory coins of his Year 43 probably commemorate his own role.[131] But Tacfarinas was not to be eliminated. The following year he again took up the cause, escalating his attacks until he trapped an entire Roman cohort at its outpost on the Pagyda River.[132] The current African proconsul, Lucius Apronius, decimated the disgraced cohort (another of Tacitus' allusions to ancient Roman practices) and engaged Tacfarinas at Thala, but he slipped away into the desert. Apronius received triumphal ornaments and Juba issued another series of victory coins.[133]

Tacfarinas was so encouraged, however, that he sent a letter to Tiberius demanding terms. The emperor was infuriated, and sent Q. Junius Blaesus, the uncle of Sejanus, into the field. Blaesus adopted a divide-and-conquer strategy, providing amnesty to many of Tacfarinas' allies while continuing the operations against the leader himself. He developed a complex method of spreading and separating his forces, largely to defend threatened cities such as Cirta. Blaesus also constructed a line of forts and a number of fortified positions, and did not terminate engagements at the end of the summer campaigning season. Tacfarinas, as usual, fled into the desert, but his brother was captured, and Blaesus was awarded triumphal ornaments and hailed as *imperator*, the last time this ancient honor was conferred on a private citizen.[134] And, for the last time, Juba claimed a victory, in his Year 48,[135] which began in the autumn of AD 23. He did not live to see the final disposal of Tacfarinas, for within the year he was dead. This probably further encouraged Tacfarinas, as did the withdrawal of many Roman forces after

131 Mazard #284.

132 The Pagyda River may be the Bagradas (modern Mejerda), the major river of Roman Africa. The engagement would have been along its remote upper reaches, in modern eastern Algeria. On the toponyms, see Syme (supra note 125), pp. 113–30.

133 Year 46 (AD 21): Mazard #285. Apronius and his son L. Apronius Caesianus (who had forced Tacfarinas to retreat into the desert) were honored by a poem set up on a public inscription in Rome (*CIL* 10.7257).

134 This distinction did not save him when his nephew was overthrown, and he committed suicide after having been publicly reviled by Tiberius (Tacitus, *Annals* 5.6–7).

135 Mazard #288.

Blaesus' victory. Tacfarinas seems to have used this as effective propaganda, claiming that it was proof of Roman decline, and an indication that throughout the empire native revolts were becoming increasingly successful. Moreover, at this time there is a hint of rebellion in Mauretania itself, due to the accession of Ptolemaios, who was perceived to be weak.[136] All this incited Rome into more decisive action. The new Roman commander, P. Cornelius Dolabella,[137] grandson of the famous Dolabella of the civil war, embarked on a vigorous campaign that he personally directed in every detail, and before long trapped Tacfarinas at Augea. The Roman forces, angry at the length and violence of the war, showed no mercy and killed Tacfarinas, members of his family, and his bodyguard. Dolabella returned to Rome with prisoners, including some of the elusive and remote Garamantes, rarely seen in the city, but was refused triumphal honors by Tiberius, who did not wish to overshadow Sejanus' uncle Blaesus: Tacitus reported that Tiberius' slight of Dolabella only increased the latter's reputation. But most striking in this last episode of the war was the role of Ptolemaios, in this summer after his father's death, which so impressed the Senate that it sent one of its own to give him an ivory scepter and an embroidered robe, officially recognizing him as king of Mauretania, as well as ally and friend of the Romans.[138] Either he had matured greatly in the first year of his reign or Tacitus' picture of him as an indolent youth is inaccurate.

It is perhaps best to look at the Tacfarinas episode not as a major threat to the empire or as an example of senatorial courage and virtue, as Tacitus did, but as the most detailed account of the almost constant frontier issues Juba, Ptolemaios, and the African proconsuls faced. Ever since the Romans had first set foot in Africa, in the third century BC, this had been a constant issue, not unlike the native-and-settler conflicts at other times and places in world history.[139] There was no ultimate solution beyond total suppression of one side – this usually meant the natives – and this was generally not a feasible possibility.[140]

Disturbances broke out again after the death of Ptolemaios and the annexation of Mauretania,[141] and although the eventual creation of a secure frontier in the second century AC brought about peace, this collapsed in late antiquity, as did the Roman world. Modern colonial governors and

136 Tacitus, *Annals* 4.23.

137 *PIR*² C1348.

138 As the sons of Herod the Great learned, being the son of a client king did not mean automatic accession, for Roman validation was necessary.

139 There are many parallels with the history of modern European settlement of North America and Africa: some examples are cited by Dyson, *Historia* (supra note 115), pp. 267–74.

140 Garnsey, "Rome's African Empire" (supra note 114), pp. 232–3.

141 Duncan Fishwick, "The Annexation of Mauretania," *Historia* 20, 1971, 473–80.

armies believed that the same issues continued in their own times and acted accordingly.[142]

Trade and commerce

Overemphasis on the military obsessions of Roman historians may cause one to forget the smooth functioning of the economy and commerce of the Mauretanian monarchy.[143] The wars had little effect on these, although the problem with Tacfarinas seems temporarily to have raised the price of grain in Rome, an increase that Tiberius personally attempted to mitigate by contributing to the cost himself.[144] The foremost commodity was indeed grain,[145] which was the major economic resource of the region in all periods, from the Roman conquest to the end of the Empire. It was alleged that by the time of Nero, African grain could provide the needs of the city of Rome for eight months out of the year.[146] The highly productive soil, reaching almost mythic proportions in some areas, made this possible.[147] Since Republican times Africa had been famous for its large estates, which became a matter of criticism and satire,[148] but probably improved the productivity and lessened the possibility of civic instability provoked by grain shortages

142 One must be cautious about the parallels between modern colonialism and Roman rule, as modern colonial governors often saw themselves as playing the same role as Roman proconsuls, and thereby sought to interpret situations – and their responses – in similar ways. Moreover, the Romans (and modern colonial governors) saw the conflicts as settler against nomad, but the indigenous population away from the coast was not nomadic, but transhumant, which raises a different set of circumstances and conflicts. This failure to understand the true nature of the transhumant population was a major reason the Romans had such difficulty. As has been noted, "rather than conflict, competition, or interaction between two cultures, we have . . . the creation of a new imperial culture that supplanted earlier Roman cultures just as much as it did the earlier cultures of the region." See Greg Woolf, "Beyond Romans and Natives," *WA* 28, 1996–7, 341. Barry Cunliffe's *Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction* (New York: Batsford, 1988) also explores many of these issues, although in the context of western Europe.

143 Most of the economic information comes from the period of Roman provincialization, but similar circumstances existed in the royal period. There is also better information for Africa than for Mauretania, but see Enrique Gozalbes Cravioto, *Economía de la Mauritania Tingitana (siglos I A. de C.–II D. de C.)* (Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceuties, 1997).

144 Tacitus, *Annals* 2.87, 4.6; P. D. A. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 228–9.

145 R. M. Haywood, "Roman Africa," in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* 4, ed. Tenney Frank (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938), pp. 39–45; Whittaker, *CAH*^{2} 10 (supra note 1), pp. 617–18.

146 Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.383.

147 *NH* 18.94–5; see also Plutarch, *Caesar* 55; Columella 1, pr. 24. On the agricultural wealth of Africa proper, see Tenney Frank, "The Inscriptions of the Imperial Domain of Africa," *AJP* 47, 1926, 67–73.

148 *De bello africo* 65; *NH* 18.35; Seneca, *Letter* 114.26; Petronius 48, 117. On the historic reasons for these large estates, see Garnsey, "Rome's African Empire" (supra note 114), pp. 224–7.

in the capital.[149] Although Mauretania does not seem to have produced the enormous quantity that was grown in Africa proper, grain was nonetheless an important commodity:[150] Juba's cornucopia coins (Figure 25g, p. 245) show that he felt he was contributing to the agricultural richness for which northern Africa was famous.[151]

Perhaps the second most important industry was fishing, as shown by the tridents that appear on many of Juba's cornucopia coins.[152] Little is known about the details of the industry, but it was famous for two of its by-products, *garum* and purple dye.[153] *Garum*, the ubiquitous fish sauce, had long been a staple of Roman cuisine.[154] It may have originated in southern Spain but was one of the renowned products of the region around the Pillars of Herakles and the Atlantic coast of Mauretania (Figure 13, p. 135).[155] More significant within Juba's economy was the purple dye industry, which Pliny, using Juba's *Libyka*, described in detail. Juba discovered islands off the coast, and established a dyeworks there that produced Gaetulian purple, perhaps in an expansion or redevelopment of an ancient Carthaginian industry.[156] The factory was probably placed offshore so as to limit the impact of the intense odors such an establishment would produce. Gaetulian purple was renowned in Augustan times, favored as much as the Tyrian and

149 For the shortages and their civic effects, see Whittaker, *CAH*^{2} 10 (supra note 1), pp. 616–18; one of the most famous examples is when a mob attacked Claudius in the forum when it was learned that there was only a two-week supply of grain (Tacitus, *Annals* 12.43; see also Suetonius, *Claudius* 18). On the importance of grain in the Roman economy, see Peter Garnsey, "Grain for Rome," in *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, ed. Peter Garnsey *et al.* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1983), pp. 118–30.

150 Haywood (supra note 145), pp. 40–1.

151 Mazard #240–58, 265–9. Ironically, the incursions, which Juba seems to have been unable to control and which characterized much of his reign, led to the warfare that may have affected the grain supply, the greatest commodity and economic value (to Rome) of Juba's client kingdom. See further, Garnsey, *Famine* (supra note 144), pp. 227–8.

152 Mazard #253–8; there are also coins with tridents and a fish or, more likely, a dolphin (#260–4). See also Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 111.

153 See Strabo 17.3.18, for some information.

154 For a discussion of *garum*, see R. Zahn, "Garum," *RE* 7, 1910, 841–9; Pierre Grimal and Th. Monod, "Sur la véritable nature du 'garum'," *RÉA* 54, 1952, 27–38. Martial (13.102) called it "fastosum, munera cara." See further, Andrew Dalby and Sally Grainger, *The Classical Cookbook*, paperback with revisions (London: British Museum Press, 2000), pp. 19–21.

155 Strabo 3.4.2; Horace, *Satires* 2.8.46; *NH* 31.93–4. Many physical remnants of the industrial establishments of the *garum* industry, especially from the period of Juba, have been found along the Moroccan and Spanish coasts: see Michel Ponsich and Miguel Tarradell, *Garum et industries antiques de salaison dans la Méditerranée occidentale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965). On the importation of it to Italy, see Robert Étienne and Françoise Mayet, "Le *garum* a Pompéi. Production et commerce," *RÉA* 100, 1998, 199–215. A descendant of *garum*, anchovy paste, is still a major Moroccan export.

156 Juba, fr. 43 (=*NH* 6.201); Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 233–4. On the significance of purple to the Romans, see Meyer Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity*, Collection Latomus 116 (Brussels 1970), pp. 48–70. A popular but nonetheless interesting, and superbly illustrated, account of the use of purple dye throughout history is Gösta Sandberg, *The Red Dyes: Cochineal, Madder, and Murex Purple*, trans. Edith M. Matteson (Asheville, N.C.: Lark Books, 1997).

Lakonian varieties.[157] It was probably *Purpurea haemastoma*, ancient *buccinum*, that was harvested.[158]

It has long been assumed that the Purple Islands lie off the Moroccan coast at Essaouira, approximately 350 km southwest of Casablanca (Figure 21, p. 185).[159] Here there is a cluster of tiny islets about 2 km off the shore; the largest, Mogador, is only a few hundred meters across. Another of similar size was where the promontory of Essaouira is today, but became joined to the coast at some time since antiquity. One of these may be Kerne, which Polybios considered the limit of Mauretania.[160] Excavations on Mogador in the 1950s revealed that the island had been inhabited since the seventh century BC as a port of call for Carthaginian traders: it seems to have been known to Hanno.[161] The Carthaginian settlement was abandoned after

157 Horace, *Epistle* 2.2.181–2; Tibullus 2.3.58; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.319; see also Pomponius Mela 3.104; *NH* 9.127.

158 *NH* 9.125–41; but see Jean Desjacques and Paul Koeberlé, "Mogador et les îles purpuraires," *Hespéris* 42, 1955, 198–9. See also David Herber and J. Herber, "La Pourpre de Gétulie," *Hésperis* 25, 1938, 97–9; Jean Gattefossé, "La Pourpre gétule: invention du roi Juba de Maurétanie," *Hésperis* 44, 1957, 329–33.

159 André Jodin, *Les Établissements du roi Juba II aux Îles Purpuraires (Mogador)* (Tangier: Éditions Marocaines et Internationales, 1967); M. Euzennat, "Mogador ('Cerne')," *PECS*, p. 586; Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "Notes sur les graffitis phéniciens de Mogador," *Lixus*, pp. 155–73; André Jodin, "Les Rois maures et les Îles Purpuraires (Mogador)," *Ktema* 21, 1996, 203–11. Pliny's failure to provide sailing directions is probably indicative of the islands' closeness to the mainland (*NH* 6.201). It is unlikely that the Purple Islands are the Madeira group, which lie hundreds of kilometers off the coast and are not visible from the mainland, but see F. E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 130. Carthaginian explorers may have found the Madeiras and it is possible that early reports of various Atlantic islands became mixed and collected under the rubric of Islands of the Blessed (Thomson, pp. 77–8, 184).

160 *NH* 6.199. The location of Kerne (originally mentioned by Hanno [*GGM*] 8) is far from certain, and it is often placed farther south (a Herne Island on the coast of the Western Sahara at 23° 45′ N is seen to be a survival of the name). But commentators have generally ignored the fact that Kerne was, for Hanno, only three days' sail from the territory of the Lixitai, and if this is Lixos, Kerne cannot be far south: thus Mogador seems more likely, some 450 km beyond Lixos. Yet the issue is complicated by the fact that it is not certain that Hanno's Lixitai are at the site of Lixos: the mouth of the Draa has long been suspected for their location, which would place Kerne three days' farther south, perhaps at the mouth of the Oued Targa (on this, see G. Marcy, "Notes linguistiques: autour du periple d'Hannon," *Hespéris* 20, 1935, 60–6). But Kerne has also been placed as far north as the mouth of the Tensift, just north of Mogador (M. Rousseaux, "Hannon au Maroc," *RAfr* 93, 1949, 213–24). Thus Kerne has been located variously along hundreds of kilometers of coast, and a definitive determination is probably impossible given the present evidence, although Mogador remains a strong possibility. A summary of potential identifications is Raymond Mauny, "Cerné l'Île de Herne (Río de Oro) et la question des navigations antiques sur la côte ouest-africaine," in *Conferencia internacional de Africanistas Occidentales: 4ª Conferencia, Santa Isabel de Fernando Poo 1954*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias, 1954), pp. 73–80. See, further, Michael F. Doran, "The Maritime Provenience of Iron Technology in West Africa," *TI* 9, 1977, 95; John Ferguson, "Classical Contacts with West Africa," in *Africa in Classical Antiquity: Nine Studies*, ed. L. A. Thompson and J. Ferguson (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1969), pp. 5–6; C. F. Konrad, *Plutarch's Sertorius: A Historical Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), p. 106.

161 *NH* 6.199–200; Hanno (*GGM*) 8.

the sixth century BC, and there was no significant habitation until the time of Juba, when a villa was constructed that lasted in various forms until the fifth century AC. A large shellmound on the present mainland near Essaouira and basins and tanks on Mogador provide evidence, according to the excavator, that this was the location of Juba's purple factory, since the description by Pliny indicates that such paraphernalia were required.[162]

Other Mauretanian commodities were less important. Olives and olive oil were inferior to cereals as a crop[163] and were primarily cultivated in the easternmost part, near the African border,[164] although there is evidence for their increase in the west at the time of Juba.[165] Strabo spoke highly of the Mauretanian grapevine,[166] but North African wine was sharp in taste and thus was probably not competitive, although at least one type was esteemed.[167] African grapes were of higher quality than the wine they produced, and when smoke-dried were a particular favorite of Tiberius, which increased their popularity.[168] But African figs were said by some to be the best.[169]

Food items were not the only products of Mauretania. Juba believed that his Atlantic coast yielded some of the best pearls.[170] Amber was found in the Electrum Lake, or Lake Kephisis, near the coast.[171] There were copper mines and the harvesting of carbuncular stones.[172] North African elephants were exported for the spectacles in Rome.[173] The furniture industry may have been a royal monopoly, using ivory from south of the Sahara,[174] timber from Mount Atlas, and citrus wood from the lowlands. Mauretanian citrus furniture had been an extravagance even in the late Republic, and came to be

162 *NH* 9.133–5; Jodin (*Les Établissements*, supra note 159), pp. 256–7.

163 *NH* 15.8.

164 Haywood (supra note 145), pp. 47–8. Villas in the hinterland of Caesarea, existing during the first three centuries AC, were devoted to oil (and wine) production. See Kevin Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 132–3.

165 In later Imperial times Volubilis became a center of olive production, as shown by the fifty-eight known presses on the site, probably from the Severan period: see Aomar Akerraz and Maurice Lenoir, "Les Huileries de *Volubilis*," *BAMaroc* 14, 1981–2, 93–8; Ali Ouahidi, "Nouvelles recherches archéologiques sur les huileries de Volubilis," *AfrRom* 10, 1994, 289–99. This may have been the maturity of an industry originally developed in Juba's day. Moreover, Sala (at modern Rabat) seems to have had an olive oil industry from the mid-first century BC (Jean Boube, "Les Amphores de Sala à l'epoque maurétanienne," *BAMaroc* 17, 1987–8, 183–207).

166 Strabo 17.3.4.

167 *NH* 14.81, 120.

168 *NH* 14.14–17.

169 *NH* 15.69; Columella 5.10.11.

170 *NH* 9.115 (=Juba, fr. 71).

171 *NH* 37.37.

172 Strabo 17.3.11.

173 Hans Roland Baldus, "Eine antike Elefanten-Dressur. Zu einen Münzbild König Jubas II," *Chiron* 20, 1990, 217–20.

174 Juvenal 11.120–7.

prized by the royal and imperial families.[175] In fact the demand was so high that by Pliny's time the supply of the best wood was exhausted.

The commodities of Mauretania led to a brisk trade with Europe, especially through Spain. Tingis, a Roman enclave and the point closest to Europe, became a major trade emporium.[176] From Italy, Arretine pottery began to flow into the kingdom: in the west, because of the route through Tingis, it had appeared as early as 40 BC,[177] but in the east it became common only after 15 BC, when a decade of client kingship had strengthened commercial relations with Italy.[178] Juba's connections with Gades and Carthago Nova – he was *duovir* at both[179] – may have been designed to foster this commerce.

175 *NH* 13.91–5; Lucan 9.426–30; Martial 9.22. See also Russell Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 288–92.

176 André Jodin, "Le Commerce maurétanien au temps de Juba II: la céramique arétine de Volubilis (Maroc)," in *Actes du quatre-vingt-onzième Congrès National de Sociétés Savantes, Rennes 1966: Section d'archéologie* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1968), pp. 39–40.

177 Gsell 8.232; M. Ponsich, "La Céramique arétine dans le nord de la Maurétanie Tingitane," *BAMaroc* 15, 1983–4, 139–211.

178 Philip M. Kenrick, "The Importation of Italian Sigillata to Algeria," *AntAfr* 32, 1996, 37–44; R Guery, "Nouvelles marques de potiers sur terre sigillée de Cherchel," *BAAlg* 6, 1975–6 (1980), 61–6.

179 Infra, pp. 156–7.

6

THE ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL PROGRAM OF JUBA AND KLEOPATRA SELENE

It was through the culture of the royal court that a client kingdom could most effectively demonstrate its suitability to be a part of the greater Roman world. The creation of a proper royal city, an artistic program, and support of an intellectual, cultural, and religious life in accordance with Roman standards were the means by which the king, queen, and their kingdom showed their essentially civilized qualities. Royal patronage of the arts and culture had a long and distinguished history in the Mediterranean world, but the most immediate influences on Juba and Kleopatra Selene were the similar activities taking place in Augustan Rome, and their own Numidian and Ptolemaic legacies.

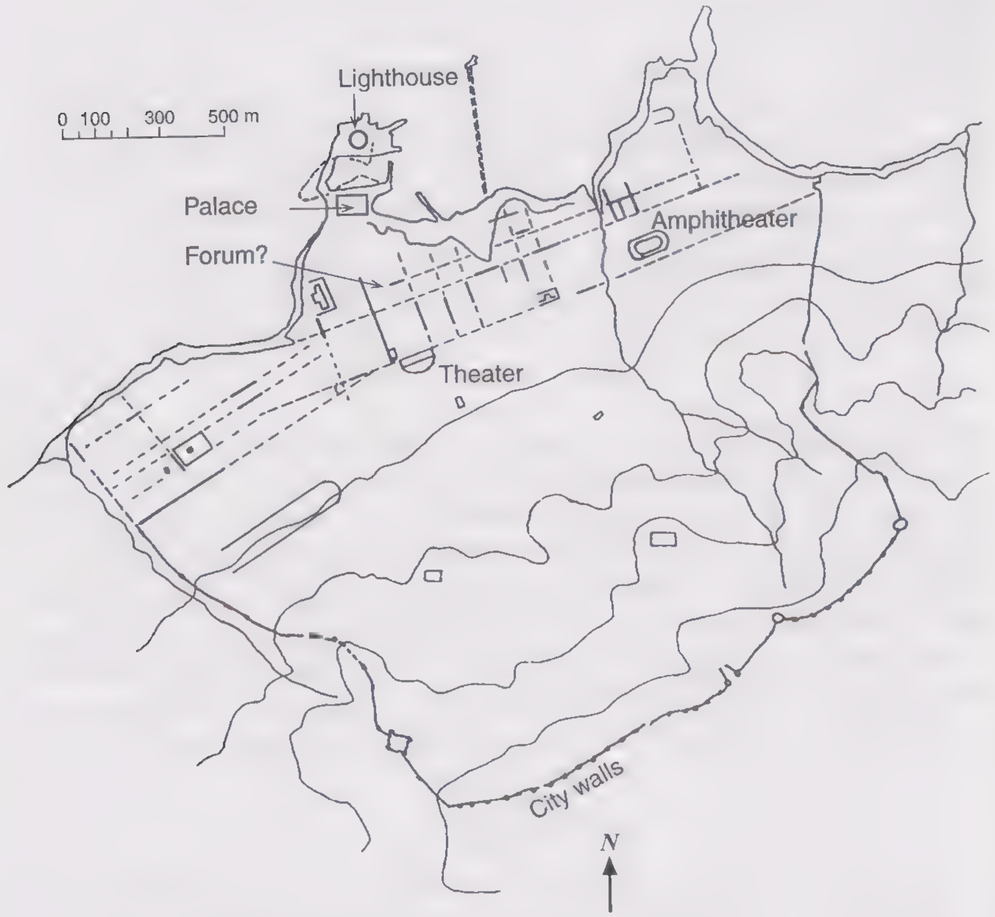
The royal city

An essential part of the Mauretanian kingdom was the development of the court cities. Following the dual history of Mauretania, there were two, Volubilis and Iol, respectively the old capitals of Bogudes II and Bocchus II. Volubilis had been the traditional Mauretanian capital, but the monarchs established Iol as their royal city. The reasons for this are not difficult to determine: although the more isolated in terms of the history and topography of North Africa, Iol was closer to Rome and to Juba's ancestral Numidia. As a coastal settlement it was more connected to the Mediterranean than Volubilis, far in the interior.[1] Volubilis, perhaps because of its distance from the Roman world, had faded in the years since the abdication of Bogudes II, and its rare mention in ancient sources indicates its lesser importance.[2] Iol, on the other hand, was consistently recognized as the capital of Juba and Kleopatra Selene, especially after it became Caesarea early in the reign. The name is first cited in literature by Strabo, but in a passage that seems to have been written after Juba's death.[3] It also appears on Juba's coins

1 Brent D. Shaw, review of Coltelloni-Trannoy, *La Royaume de Maurétanie*, *Gnomon* 72, 2000, 423.

2 It was cited only by Pomponius Mela (3.107), Pliny (*NH* 5.5), and Ptolemy the geographer (4.1.14, 8.13.6). All these are lists of cities rather than any discussion of cultural phenomena or their relationship to Juba.

3 Strabo 17.3.12.



Map 3 Caesarea at the time of the client monarchy

of Year 31 (AD 6),[4] probably the earliest extant use of the name. These coins may commemorate an anniversary of the founding, perhaps either the thirtieth or the twenty-fifth: if so, the city would have been renamed in 24 or 19 BC. Juba was following the trend of the era, as such cities were created by most of the client kings.[5]

4 Mazard #188.

5 Suetonius, *Augustus* 60. Whether Juba was the first client king to use the toponym Caesarea cannot be determined, but it is probable. He may have been inspired by Augustus' refounding of Antioch in Pisidia as Colonia Caesarea (Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and Its Monuments* [London: Duckworth, 1998], p. 8), the first use of the toponym and part of the process of provincializing Galatia in 25 BC, thus an event that took place while Augustus and Juba were in Tarraco. Herod's Caesarea was founded three years later. It seems unlikely that Juba would have waited that long for his foundation, although no precise date is available. Also roughly contemporary was Kappadokian Caesarea, founded by Juba's associate Archelaos of Kappadokia (Roller, *Herod*, pp. 89, 134–5).

Iol may have languished in the years before 25 BC. It seems first to have been established as a royal city by Juba's great-great-great-uncle Micipsa, approximately a century previously,[6] although there had been occupation on the site as early as about 600 BC and fortification from about 200 BC.[7] Yet despite its incorporation into the newly expanded kingdom of Mauretania, the city probably declined in the first century BC: after the defeat of Jugurtha there is no evidence of major activity.[8] It became the royal seat of Bocchus II around the middle of the century, remaining so until his death in 33 BC.

When Juba II and Kleopatra Selene arrived, eight years later, they transformed this decaying petty capital into a proper royal city, the only Caesarea in the western Mediterranean. Although Juba is not to be numbered among the great builder kings of the era, he ensured that Caesarea would have the proper physical attributes appropriate to the Augustan period, and, moreover, that his royal city, like the capitals of his more architecturally vigorous eastern colleagues, would reflect elements of the Augustan architectural revolution that was then spreading through the empire. The royal entourage would have included Roman-trained architects who could implement this policy, using contemporary Roman constructional and decorative techniques, probably including *opus reticulatum*, which is rare outside Italy at this early date.[9]

The physical evidence for the Augustan period at Caesarea is scant. As is so often the case, a long later history of monumental construction, especially in Severan times,[10] has obscured the earlier material, assisted by the continued occupation of the town site as modern Cherchel. Moreover, given the scattered nature of the excavations, it is virtually impossible to make the necessary narrow distinction between the construction program of the client kingdom, before AD 40, and that of the Roman province immediately thereafter. It is also important to avoid the natural tendency to attribute everything impressive from the early Imperial period to royal patronage – a similar problem exists in Herod's territories – and to adopt as minimalist a

6 Micipsa seems to have been buried at Iol: see J.-G. Février, "L'Inscription funéraire de Micipsa," *RAssyr* 45, 1951, 139–50. For the early history of the city, see Leveau, *Caesarea*; T. W. Potter, "City and Territory in Roman Algeria: The Case of Iol Caesarea," *JRA* 1, 1988, 190.

7 T. W. Potter, "Models of Urban Growth: The Cherchel Excavations 1977–1981," *BAC* n.s. 19b, 1983 (1985), 458.

8 To Pomponius Mela (1.30) it was unknown before Juba's day.

9 T. W. Potter, *Towns in Late Antiquity: Iol Caesarea and Its Context* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1995), p. 8; Patrizio Pensabene, "La decorazione architettonica di Cherchel: cornice, architravi, soffiti, basi e pilastri," *RM Supp.* 25, 1982, 116–21. The *opus reticulatum* found at Caesarea is no earlier than the time of Ptolemaios (Philippe Leveau, "Trois tombeaux monumentaux à Cherchel," *BAAlg* 4, 1970, 101–48). Yet the technique seems a characteristic of the Augustan client kings (Roller, *Herod*, pp. 99, 181, 256).

10 Potter, *Towns* (supra note 9), pp. 9–10, 32–48.

Figure 4 Caesarea: theater.

Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

view as possible.[11] Nevertheless, there are a number of structures that seem to be from the period of the client monarchy.

Most conspicuous is the theater (Figure 4).[12] Situated directly inland from the harbor and above the forum, it occupies a prominent location within the city. Although built into the side of a hill in the Greek fashion – rather than being freestanding, like a true Roman theater – it generally conforms to Vitruvian rules[13] and was constructed by architects familiar with contempor ary Roman theater design, if not actually sent from Augustan Rome.[14] As such, it is an important monument in the architectural dissemination of the building type. Theater building in Rome barely predated Juba's own life time, as the first in the city were only built in the 50s BC. The oldest,

11 Potter, "City and Territory" (supra note 6), p. 191.

12 Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 33–6; Gilbert Charles Picard, "La Date du théâtre de Cherchel et les débuts d l'architecture théâtrale dans les provinces romaines d'occident," *CRAI* 1975, pp. 386–7; and his "La Date du théâtre de Cherchel," *BAAlg* 6, 1975–6 (1980), 49–54.

13 David B. Small, "Studies in Roman Theater Design," *AJA* 87, 1983, 59–60.

14 Picard, *CRAI* (supra note 12), pp. 390–4. One of the capitals from the theater bears the name of P Antius Amphio, who was probably a foreman or director of the workshop: see J. B. Ward Perkins "Tripolitana and the Marble Trade," *JRS* 41, 1951, 93–5. He would have been a slave or freedman but connected with the Antii, who were somewhat prominent in the late Republic and early Empir (Cicero, *Atticus* 4.17; Appian, *Civil War* 4.40; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.6).

commissioned by M. Aemilius Scaurus in 58 BC, was soon overshadowed by the competing and nearby efforts of Pompeius and Caesar.[15] Juba would have been aware of this architectural competition between the two great personalities of the previous generation, both of whom had been involved in the events that led to his kingship. Moreover, theater construction, especially outside of Rome and by the client kings, was an important priority of the Augustan era: Herod built four, carrying the form to the East.[16] This all may have helped to inspire Juba's own interest in and writings on the theater.[17] It is probable that the Caesarea theater was an early priority of Juba's building program and that the structure was completed about 13 BC, the time of the dedication of Caesar's theater in Rome – whose construction had continued sporadically for thirty years – to one of Juba's childhood playmates, the late Marcellus.

The forum of Caesarea (Figure 5) is to the north of the theater, aligned along a street that runs from its eastern edge toward the harbor. Excavations have demonstrated that the forum is Severan, and that during the client monarchy and early province the district had been an industrial quarter.[18] Thus it is not the site of Juba's forum, but, in fact, numerous examples of Augustan architectural decoration, particularly capitals in Luna marble, were found in this Severan forum, especially in a basilica.[19] These probably had been removed from the Juban forum, which was in the vicinity but whose exact location remains unknown.

In the eastern portion of Caesarea is the amphitheater.[20] Its unusual shape – essentially a rectangle with semicircular ends – demonstrates its early date, preserving a form closer to that implicit in the word ἀμφιθέατρος. In Juba's day, amphitheaters were even a newer building type than the Roman theater: the first permanent one in Rome had been built only four years before he left for Mauretania.[21] The Caesarea amphitheater lacks strong dating controls, but its unusual, seemingly early, form suggests the period

15 *NH* 34.36, 36.113–15; Suetonius, *Julius* 44; Dio 43.49; *NTDAR* pp. 382–5; Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, second edition (New York: Prager, 1968), vol. 2, p. 423; L. Richardson, Jr., "A Note on the Architecture of the *Theatrum Pompei* in Rome," *AJA* 91, 1987, 123–6.

16 Roller, *Herod*, pp. 93–4; Alison Cooley, "A New Date for Agrippa's Theatre at Ostia," *PBSR* 67, 1999, 173–82.

17 Leveau, *Caesarea*, p. 35.

18 Potter, *Towns* (supra note 9), pp. 29–48.

19 They were also found elsewhere in the town site. See Patrizio Pensabene, *Les Chapiteaux de Cherchel: étude de la decoration architectonique* (*BAAlg Supp.* 3), 1982, 9–11, especially no. 19, remindful of the capitals of the Temple of Mars Ultor in Rome. See, further, nos. 20–5 and pp. 69–74; Potter, *Towns* (supra note 9), p. 32; D. E. Strong, "Some Observations on Early Roman Corinthian," *JRS* 53, 1963, 80; Klaus Fittschen, "Juba II. und seine Residenz Jol/Caesarea (Cherchel)," *Numider*, p. 242.

20 Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 36–9.

21 This is the one built by Statilius Taurus in the Campus Martius in 29 BC, one of the enigmas of Roman topography: see *NTDAR*, p. 11.

Figure 5 Caesarea: site of forum.
Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

of Juba, perhaps 25–15 BC, and it may be the best-preserved example of the earliest phase of amphitheatral typology.[22]

The harbor was another Juban construction (Figure 6). It was mentioned by Strabo in one of the few literary references to Caesarea, and thus was worthy of note: Strabo's personal connections to Juba demonstrate that it was considered one of the important elements of the royal city.[23] A lighthouse stood on a small offshore island, in the style of the Pharos of Alexandria.[24] In addition to that Hellenistic Egyptian precedent, Juba might also have been influenced by the spectacular harbor and lighthouse that Herod began in 22 BC at his own Caesarea.[25] Yet there is little physical evidence at the harbor of Mauretanian Caesarea that can be connected with Juba, and the period of provincialization under Claudius was also a time of major harbor construction in the Roman world.

22 Leveau, *Caesarea*, p. 38; Jean-Claude Golvin and Philippe Leveau, "L'Amphithéâtre et le théâtre-amphithéâtre de Cherchel: monuments à spectacle et histoire urbaine à Caesarea de Maurétanie," *MÉFRA* 91, 1979, 817–32; Jean-Claude Golvin, *L'Amphithéâtre romain: essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et ses fonctions* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 112–14; David Bomgardner, *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 151–2.

23 Strabo 17.3.12; Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 47–50.

24 Jean Lassus, "Les Découvertes récentes de Cherchel," *CRAI* 1959, pp. 222–5. A nearby temple may have been dedicated to Juba's ancestors.

25 Roller, *Herod*, pp. 137–8.

Figure 6 Caesarea: view of offshore island, with site of palace in foreground.
Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

The royal palace and its attendant structures, including the royal library, were probably on the waterfront (Figure 7), inspired almost certainly by the palace and library at Alexandria.[26] Some of the rich sculptural ornamentation found near the harbor, with elaborate decoration remindful of the Third Pompeian style and vegetal reliefs similar to those on the Ara Pacis, may have belonged to the royal residence.[27]

Other elements of the city, especially its orthogonal plan and various baths, may have a Juban origin, but the evidence is lacking beyond reasonable hypothesis.[28] Large public baths are not a feature of Augustan Rome: the modest Baths of Marcus Agrippa were completed around 25 BC, and another was not built until the time of Nero.[29] That Caesarea had baths, probably relatively small public ones, at the time of the client monarchy is a certainty, but the three great bathing establishments visible today – the Western, Central, and Eastern – are products of the later Empire.[30]

26 Fittschen (supra note 19), p. 230.

27 *Numidet*, pl. 45–9. The Dionysos themes on these reliefs invoke the memory of Kleopatra Selene's father.

28 Elizabeth Fentress, "Caesarean Reflections," *Opus* 3, 1984, 487.

29 Dio 53.27; *NTDAR*, pp. 386–7, 393–5.

30 Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 51–4.

Figure 7 Caesarea: site of palace and view south across city.

Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

An orthogonal plan, although not existent in Rome itself, was nonetheless a necessity in a newly constructed city, such as Herod's contemporary Caesarea, which was built on essentially abandoned and unpopulated land. Juba, however, was modernizing a city hundreds of years old, and thus his orthogonal plan had to be forced onto the more irregular layout of the Carthaginian and Numidian city, which may have been limited to the area around the harbor. Although many of the monumental constructions at Caesarea that fit into its orthogonal plan are much later than Juba's day, the theater and the amphitheater, the two most certain Juban structures, lie several hundred meters apart on opposite sides of the same major street; this and the axis leading at right angles down from the theater past the area of the forum toward the harbor are the best proof of Juba's orthogonal town planning.[31]

An Iseum is known from literature,[32] and there is varying epigraphic and artistic evidence for the expected temples to imperial and dynastic cults.[33] Coins also show the Temple of Augustus (Figure 25f, p. 245), some in

31 Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 77–9.

32 *NH* 5.51. It was perhaps on the island at the harbor (Lassus [supra note 24], p. 225).

33 Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 16–17.

tetrastyle representation and others in hexastyle, which may be two different temples or two versions of the same temple.[34] Other depictions are reminded of the Curia Julia in Rome, completed in 29 BC.[35] Although this is not exactly an expected precedent for a temple to the imperial cult, there really were no precedents, and since the Curia represented the latest in Roman architecture at the time Juba left Rome, it became a prototype in form if not in function.[36] In building a temple to Augustus, Juba was following the lead of the other client kings, beginning with Herod and his Sebaste of 27 BC. Caesarea also had a site known as the Lucus Augusti, which contained an altar with garlands and trees.[37] A sacred grove commemorating a living person was unusual, but Rome had several groves sacred to deities, many of them obscure.[38] The use of an altar was a distinctly Augustan element – one need only think of the Ara Pacis – and the establishment of altars as the focus of provincial imperial cult in the western provinces is documented at Lugdunum by 12 BC.[39]

The impressive city walls, which extend for 4.46 km, well beyond the urbanized core, may also date from the time of the client monarchy.[40] Although it has been rightly pointed out that these could equally well be from the provincial period,[41] ideologically they fit better into the Juban plan, demonstrating the role of the client king in defending the romanized city from the barbarian exterior,[42] and incidentally creating one of the largest cities – in terms of area – in the Roman West.[43] Their striking position, running high above the town site at the edge of the upper plateau at an elevation of 244 m, contributes to the visual impressiveness of the city.

34 Mazard #144–56; Heidi Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti: Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten Römischen Kaisers*, Archaeologica 39 (Rome 1985), pp. 271–3.

35 Augustus, *Res gestae* 19; Dio 51.22.1–2; *NTDAR*, pp. 103–4.

36 It has been suggested, on the evidence of these coins, that Juba established his own curia and that this was the prototype for the various Roman imperial curias in North Africa: see Bluma L. Trell, "Ancient Coins: New Light on North African Architecture," in *Actes du Premier Congrès d'Histoire et de la Civilisation du Maghreb* 1 (Tunis: Université de Tunis, 1979), pp. 95–6.

37 Mazard #157–61.

38 *NTDAR*, pp. 235–6.

39 Duncan Fishwick, "The Development of Provincial Ruler Worship in the Western Roman Empire," *ANRW* 2.16.2, 1978, 1204–10.

40 Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 29–33.

41 Potter, *Towns* (supra note 9), p. 9; Paul-Marie Duval, *Cherchel et Tipasa: Recherches sur deux villes fortes de l'Afrique romaine*, Institut français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologie et Historique 43, 1946, pp. 71–163.

42 On this, see Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 32–3; Duane W. Roller, "The Wilfrid Laurier University Survey of Northeastern Caesarea Maritima," *Levant* 14, 1982, 96. The walls of Herod's Caesarea were ideological rather than functional, and this too may have inspired Juba.

43 Philippe Leveau, "L'Urbanisme des princes clients d'Auguste: l'exemple de Caesarea de Maurétanie," in *Architecture et Société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine*, CÉFR 66, 1983, pp. 351–2.

Figure 8 The Oued Bellah aqueduct bridge, east of Caesarea: view south.
Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

Outside the city, the most probable element associated with Juba is the aqueduct system,[44] which runs from the village of Menacer, 30 km southeast of Caesarea. It is most noted for two spectacular bridges over the Oued Ilelouine and the Oued Bellah respectively, the former 137 m long and in the style of the Pont du Gard (Figure 8). Again there is compelling circumstantial evidence that this hydraulic infrastructure dates from the client monarchy, as provision of an adequate water supply was not only an Augustan priority within Rome but an essential part of an important city.[45] The Caesarea aqueduct, especially the Oued Ilelouine bridge, is an expertly crafted piece of innovative architecture and engineering,[46] and its construction fostered the agricultural prosperity and urbanization of the region, as it supplied the rural hinterland as well as the city.[47]

Some 40 km east of Caesarea, near Tipasa, is another construction that may be the work of Juba, or at least an effective part of his vision of the physical aspect of his kingdom. This is the large tomb now known as the

44 Philippe Leveau and Jean-Louis Paillet, *L'Alimentation en eau de Caesarea de Maurétanie et l'aqueduc de Cherchell* (Paris: Harmattan, 1976), which dated the aqueduct to the latter first century AD (pp. 165–7), now superseded by Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 57–63.

45 Leveau, *Caesarea*, pp. 61–2; Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae* 9; Dio 54.11.7.

46 A. Trevor Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply* (London: Duckworth, 1992), pp. 142–5.

47 Andrew Wilson, "Deliveries *extra urbem*: Aqueducts and the Countryside," *JRA* 12, 1999, 322–3

Figure 9 The Mauretanian Royal Mausoleum.
Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

Mauretanian Royal Mausoleum (Figure 9).[48] It is an impressive round structure 60.9 m in diameter and 32.4 m high, consisting of an Ionic facade surmounted by a stepped cone. The interior contains various passages and chambers. This tomb is probably the one described by Pomponius Mela as the communal mausoleum of the royal family ("monumentum commune regiae gentis").[49] The context, a discussion of Juba and Iol, makes it reasonable to assume that the royal family is that of Juba and that the extant tomb is in fact that of the king and Kleopatra Selene, since Pomponius Mela by his own admission knew nothing of pre-Juban Iol. Such has long been assumed and was the presumption of the restorer, Marcel Christofle, when he began work at the site in 1912, and is a view still held by many today.[50] Others, however, have suggested an earlier date, perhaps of Bocchus I[51] or

18 Its traditional early modern name, still appearing in some publications but totally erroneous, is the Tomb of the Christian Woman. Marcel Christofle, *Le Tombeau de la Chrétienne* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1951); Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 80–1; see also Pietro Romanelli, "Ancora sull'età della Tomba della Cristiana in Algeria," *ArchCl* 24, 1972, 109–11; *Numider*, pp. 452–3; Mounir Bouchenaki, *Le Mausolée royal de Maurétanie* (Algiers: Direction des Musées, de l'Archéologie et des Monuments et Sites Historiques, 1979).

19 Pomponius Mela 1.31.

50 Most recently, Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 44–5

51 Friedrich Rakob, "Numidische Königsarchitektur in Nordafrika," *Numider*, p. 142; Filippo Coarelli and Yvon Thébert, "Architecture funéraire et pouvoir: réflexions sur l'hellénisme numide," *MEFRA* 100, 1988, 766

Bocchus II.[52] Attribution to Bocchus I seems improbable because his capital was at Volubilis and his association with the Iol area brief and marginal, but Bocchus II, who reigned at Iol, is a definite possibility, as are Juba II and his family. The problem is aggravated by the lack of solid dating controls.

The mausoleum is of a type common in Numidia;[53] at Medracen, in eastern Algeria just north of Timgad, is a similar, and somewhat better built structure, whose decoration has both Egyptian and Greek details with a radiocarbon date of the third century BC.[54] Although it has sometimes been identified as the tomb of Massinissa, the dating implies that his father Gaia was the more probable builder,[55] although there is no reason that Massinissa himself could not also have been buried there. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that the Mauretanian Royal Mausoleum, built one to two centuries later, is an indigenous architectural type whose origins are ultimately in the royal mausolea of the Hellenistic East, such as the Mausoleum of Maussolos at Halikarnassos and perhaps even that of Alexander the Great at Alexandria.[56] In any case, the Mauretanian Royal Mausoleum is strikingly similar to the monumental tomb that Augustus began building in Rome around 27 BC, just before Juba left the city.[57] This is not to suggest that it was derived from the Mausoleum of Augustus, as the similarities are due to the typological origin of both in the royal mausolea of the East. But if the Numidian tomb is that of Juba and Kleopatra Selene, even if inherited from Bocchus II, it served them well politically to have a tomb similar to that of the Princeps and his family in Rome.[58]

Although the full extent of his contribution cannot be determined, at Caesarea Juba created a "showcase city"[59] that would take its impressive place as one of the capitals of the client kingdoms. Caesarea was meant to be seen from the sea approach. The city sits on a plateau approximately 25 m above sea level, which makes the location of the town's site like a stage. The palace of Juba and the public buildings would have been prominent. Behind

52 Rakob (supra note 51), p. 142; Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 80–1; Gsell, vol. 7, p. 273; Coarelli and Thébert (supra note 51), p. 766.

53 Brett and Fentress (supra note 50), pp. 27–31; Rakob (supra note 51), pp. 170–1; H. Ghazi-Ben Maïssa, "Le Culte royal en Afrique Mineure antique," *Hésperis-Tamuda* 35.2, 1997, 32–41; Gabriel Camps, "Mausolées princiers de Numidie et de Maurétanie," *Archeologia* (Paris) 298, 1994, 50–9.

54 Rakob (supra note 51), pp. 134–8; Gabriel Camps, "Nouvelles observations sur l'architecture et l'âge du Medracen, mausolée royale de Numidie," *CRAI* 1973, pp. 470–517; Friedrich Rakob, "Architecture royale numide," in *Architecture et Société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine*, CÉFR 66, 1983, pp. 325–48; *Numider*, pp. 450–1.

55 Brett and Fentress (supra note 50), pp. 27–9.

56 Coarelli and Thébert (supra note 51), pp. 777–800.

57 Strabo 5.3.8.

58 One might argue that Juba and Kleopatra Selene would build their own tomb, rather than use that of another, but it would have demonstrated a strong and wise continuity with the old regime if the interlopers used its tomb.

59 The phrase "ville-vitrine" is Leveau's (*Caesarea*, p. 24).

Figure 10 Volubilis: view of site from the east.
Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

would be the theater and amphitheater with the land rising to the walls on the ridge. Topography was skillfully used for visual effect in the best tradition of Hellenistic city planning. Upon entering the city, visitors would be impressed by the latest Roman building forms and constructional details and ornamentation, such as the frequent use of Luna marble, and the extensive public sculpture that mirrored Augustan Rome. Like its contemporaries, Herod's Caesarea and Archelaos' Sebaste, Juba's city served as a window onto the kingdom where those approaching from Rome (or elsewhere) could see that they were, in fact, arriving at somewhere important, a version of Rome itself that had all the physical characteristics of the imperial capital. Romans could take comfort that the kings were visibly effective in their romanizing, and the kings in that they were an integral part of the empire and that their kingdoms manifested the latest Roman cultural phenomena.[60]

The dual history of Mauretania was continued in Juba's use of Volubilis as a secondary royal city (Figure 10). It had languished longer than Iol in the years before Juba's arrival, having been abandoned by its ruler Bogudes II in 38 BC, when he left to join Antonius in the East. There is no evidence that

60 Perhaps 25,000–30,000 inhabitants lived in this Roman island of Caesarea (Potter, *Towns* [supra note 9], pp. 15–16).

the city received any attentions from Bocchus II when he acquired it along with the rest of Mauretania. He died five years later, and even after Juba II received the territory, his initial efforts were toward Caesarea.[61]

The physical evidence of Juba's patronage is far more ephemeral at Volubilis than at Caesarea. As with Caesarea, extensive construction in later periods, again especially the Severan, has obscured the earlier material. Literature is of no assistance: the city is not mentioned before the middle of the first century AC.[62] In fact, Volubilis is today a paradox: the extensive and impressive remains encountered by the modern traveler stand in splendid isolation and mark a remote and great Roman city virtually unknown to ancient literature.

Because Volubilis was inhabited continuously from at least the third century BC until late Roman times, it is inevitable that some of the remains date from the period of Juba II. But what is lacking is any strong evidence of royal building, and thus it has long been argued whether or not Volubilis was a royal capital during the time of the client monarchy. That it was, an idea first advanced by Jérôme Carcopino, is based more on reasonable probability than physical evidence.[63] In the years since Carcopino's thesis first appeared, it has been doubted and even attacked by scholars who have raised quite legitimate concerns,[64] especially the failure of excavations to find significant evidence of royal building, and also the failure of the ancient sources that indicate that Caesarea was a royal city to describe Volubilis in the same terms.[65] Yet the arguments against Volubilis as a royal city are weak, the lack of physical evidence notwithstanding, for two separate reasons. First, Juba would have had no credibility as king of Mauretania if he did not bestow patronage on its ancient capital, even if it were far inland and isolated from the Mediterranean, and thus less useful to a romanized kingdom. Second, and the best evidence for royal patronage, are the discoveries of fine art from the period of the monarchy, some of which is specific to the royal family. Yet it is clear that Juba's impact was deliberately restrained and there is no evidence that he provided Volubilis with an Augustan name, such as the "Sebaste" favored by Herod and Archelaos.

Architectural evidence, however, is limited. Augustan period ornamentation, especially Ionic fragments, is found at the site, which is generally assumed to be from the time of Juba. One Ionic capital, in the style of those on the Mauretanian Royal Mausoleum, was found 50 m west of the later

61 For the uncertain status of Volubilis between 33 and 25 BC, see Michel Christol and Jacques Gascou, "Volubilis, cité fedérée?" *MÉFRA* 92, 1980, 329–45.

62 The earliest is Pomponius Mela 3.107, followed by *NH* 5.5, neither of which is informative about the history or physical aspect of the city.

63 Jérôme Carcopino, "Volubilis regia Iubae," *Hésperis* 17, 1933, 1–24.

64 The arguments are summarized by Jodin, *Volubilis*, p. 11–13, 86–9; see also H. Ghazi-Ben Maissa, "Volubilis et le problème de *regia Jubae*," *AfrRom* 10, 1994, 243–61.

65 Pomponius Mela 1.30, 3.107; *NH* 5.5, 20.

forum and may be from a small temple.[66] Some of the lower levels of Temples B and C may also indicate construction during the monarchy.[67] A large residential structure of the third century AC in the northern part of the city, often called the Palace of Gordian[68] and generally believed to be the Roman governor's palace, is thought, on no strong evidence, to be the location of Juba's palace, and, in a slightly circular argument, it is speculated that Juba may have created the entire northern quarter of the city.[69] Yet despite the weakness of the physical evidence – due, as so often, to the sporadic excavations and extensive later building – it seems that Juba favored the ancient Mauretanian capital in a limited way, at the very least doing some building and providing it with a fine collection of art.

Juba bestowed architectural patronage on other Mauretanian cities. Again, however, one must cautiously distinguish royal efforts from incidental building contemporary with the client monarchy. At Sala a monumental quarter was laid out in the center of the city, including a forum with a Capitolium and several temples (Figure 11), making use of imported marbles from Italy and even Greece.[70] Ionic decoration similar to that from Volubilis is also known,[71] and the city had its own collection of Julio-Claudian period sculpture. As one of the major port cities of the Atlantic coast of Mauretania, it was a city worthy of Juba's support, and the importation of Greek marble is the best proof of this.

The other port city on the Atlantic, Lixos, also seems to have received royal patronage (Figure 12). Here there was a specific reason for Juba's interest: it was the alleged site of the Gardens of the Hesperides and thus of the last labor of Herakles, ancestor of both king and queen.[72] In fact, at the time of the monarchy there was extensive reconstruction in the city, especially the building of a large sanctuary at the summit of the akropolis; although specific evidence is lacking, this may have been dedicated to the royal ancestor.[73] There is also a small theater–amphitheater to the east that is generally

66 Jean Boube, "Un Chapiteau ionique de l'époque de Juba II à Volubilis," *BAMaroc* 6, 1966, 109–14; but see Jodin, *Volubilis*, pp. 86–93, who was rightly cautious about the tendency to see Ionic materials as necessarily Juban; see also Jean-Marie Lassère and Gilbert Hallier, "Volubilis préclaudien," *JRA* 2, 1989, 188–90.

67 Jodin, *Volubilis*, 167–70.

68 The name is due to an inscription of the emperor Gordian III (AD 238–44): Louis Chatelain, "Travaux et recherches du Service des Antiquités du Maroc, depuis 1919," *CRAI* 1922, p. 29; Jodin, *Volubilis*, pp. 86–8.

69 Jodin, *Volubilis*, p. 53. The discovery of the bronze bust of Cato in a third-century context (infra, pp. 144–5) may support this argument.

70 M. Euzennat, "Sala," *PECS*, pp. 793–4.

71 Boube (supra note 66), p. 110.

72 On this ancestry, see infra, pp. 154–5.

73 M. Euzennat, "Lixus," *PECS*, p. 521; Mohamed Habibi, "À propos du temple H et du temple de Melkart-Héraclès à Lixus," *AfrRom* 10, 1994, 231–41. On the general rebuilding of Lixos at the time of Juba (which does not necessarily mean royal patronage), see Michel Ponsich, *Lixus: le quartier des temples (étude preliminaire)*, Études et travaux d'archéologie marocaine 9 (Rabat 1981), pp. 134–6.

Figure 11 Sala: view northeast across forum.

Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

Figure 12 Lixos: view south across the center of the site with serpentine Leucos River in the background.

Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

Figure 13 *Garum* factory on the Atlantic coast of Mauretania, at the site said to be Cotta.

Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

considered to date to the early first century AC.[74] *Garum* factories were common along this coast (Figure 13), and were an important element of the royal economy.

Since Juba was not a royal builder in the great sense, there is no significant evidence of patronage outside his kingdom. Even Tingis (Figure 14), suspended politically between Mauretania and Roman Spain and also heavily associated with Herakles, does not seem to have benefited.[75] Gades, where Juba was *duovir* and which was famous for its ancient temple to Herakles, is a possibility for patronage.[76] Elsewhere, the only place that might have received his architectural largess was Athens. Support of Athens was virtually a necessity for a client monarch,[77] and it is probable that Juba is among the kings meant by Suetonius in his description of their cooperative project to fund the completion of the Olympieion in that city, which was to be

74 Michel Ponsich, "Un Théâtre grec au Maroc?" *BAMaroc* 6, 1966, 317–22; and his "Lixus: informations archéologiques," *ANRW* 2.10.2, 1982, 842–3; Golvin (supra note 22), pp. 230–3; Maurice Lenior, "Lixus à l'époque romaine," *Lixus*, pp. 277–8. See further on Lixos, Chapter 6, note 185.

75 Although there is building activity at Tingis during the time of the client monarchy, the evidence is industrial and residential, and not in the category of royal patronage. See Michel Ponsich, *Recherches archéologiques à Tanger et dans sa région* (Paris: CNRS, 1970), pp. 183–5.

76 Infra, pp. 156–7; see also Habibi (supra note 73), pp. 238–40. The same might be said for the site of Juba's other duovirate, Carthago Nova.

77 Infra, p. 271.

Figure 14 Tingis and the view northeast across to Spain.

Photograph by Duane W. Roller.

dedicated to the Genius of Augustus.[78] This was a project that seems never even to have been undertaken – perhaps the implication in Suetonius' use of "destinaverunt" – as there is no evidence of a major construction phase between the time of the Roman architect Cossutius, who worked on it in the first half of the second century BC at the behest of the Seleukid king Antiochos IV,[79] and its final completion by Hadrian in AD 132.[80] Nevertheless, the temple had been plundered by Sulla in 86 BC,[81] and it is possible that the regal contributions merely paid for repairs.[82] Augustan interest in the structure might have been due to the previous Roman involvement, both for better and worse, but the failure of the project to be implemented was probably because Augustus realized the impropriety of (and even encountered Athenian resistance at) appropriating one of the Athenians' ancient shrines for a Roman cult.[83] Juba may also have restored the Gymnasion of

78 Suetonius, *Augustus* 60.

79 Vitruvius 7.Pref.17. On the convoluted history of the temple, see Herbert Abramson, "The Olympieion in Athens and Its Connections with Rome," *CSCA* 7, 1974, 1–25.

80 J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, second integrated edition (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1981), p. 268.

81 *NH* 36.45.

82 Abramson (supra note 79), p. 23.

83 David C. Braund, "Greeks and Barbarians: The Black Sea Region and Hellenism under the Early Empire," in *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, ed. Susan E. Alcock, Oxbow Monograph 95 (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997), pp. 124–5.

Ptolemaios in Athens, built by one of his wife's ancestors.[84] The Athenians may have honored Juba[85] because of either of these structures, but the fact remains that his only documented building project was the royal city of Caesarea.

The artistic program

The cultural diversity of the Mauretanian kingdom was most apparent in its elaborate program of sculpture. The surviving examples from Caesarea and elsewhere demonstrate the care that Juba and Kleopatra Selene took to create a visual record of the complex dimensions of their kingdom in order to honor its three components of Rome, Numidia, and Ptolemaic Egypt.

A repertory of dynastic and political sculpture was a standard feature of the client monarchies.[86] The best early example is the great and indeed excessive monument of Antiochos I of Kommagene at Nemrut Dağ.[87] The Romans had been instrumental in placing him on the throne in 69 BC, and he lasted, styling himself φιλορώμαιος, until around 36 BC; in his last years he tangled with Antonius, although the details are unclear, as are the exact manner and date of his death.[88] The monument at Nemrut Dağ ranks as one of the most spectacular of any dynastic program of antiquity. At the summit of the mountain is an elaborate series of outrageously monumental sculptures arranged on two facing terraces, showing the ancestors of

84 Traditionally the gymnasion has been considered the work of Ptolemaios VI in the second century BC, part of the great Hellenistic renewal of the Athenian Agora that also saw the construction of the Stoa of Attalos (Homer A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1949," *Hesperia* 19, 1950, 322–3; R. E. Wycherley, *Agora* 3: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957], pp. 142–4). More recently, however, it has been suggested that the gymnasion was built by his great-grandfather Ptolemaios III, at the time of his rapprochement with Athens in the 220s BC: see Christian Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, Hypomnemata 73 (Göttingen 1982), pp. 112–17; Hildegard Schaaf, *Untersuchungen zu Gebäudestiftungen in hellenistischer Zeit* (Cologne: Bohlau, 1992), 73–83. Both Ptolemaios III and Ptolemaios VI were direct ancestors of Kleopatra Selene. The gymnasion was damaged at the time of Sulla but was rebuilt, probably in the Augustan period, becoming the major educational center of Roman Athens. On the possibility that Juba may have paid for the rebuilding, see Stephen G. Miller, "Architecture as Evidence for the Identity of the Early *Polis*," in *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*, ed. Mogens Herman Hansen (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1995), p. 208.

85 *IG* 2–3².3436.

86 Herod, so proficient in architecture, was confronted with local objections to graven images and thus grudgingly avoided portrait sculpture within his kingdom (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 16.158), although there are a few examples elsewhere (Roller, *Herod*, pp. 272–3). He may have made greater use of painting, a medium more acceptable religiously, but none survives (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 15.25–7; *Jewish War* 1.439).

87 Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, seventh edition, tr. John Whybrow and Molly Emre (Istanbul: Turistik Yayinlar, 1990), pp. 348–52; T. A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey* 4 (London: Pindar Press, 1990), pp. 43–50.

88 Richard D. Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene," *ANRW* 2.8, 1977, 763–70.

the king, emphasizing his Achaimenid Persian connections through his father, back to Darayavaush I, and the Seleukid connections of his mother back, perhaps, to Alexander the Great. In addition there are the divine ancestors, Greek and Persian, of these families, including Herakles. Such a monument was of more than passing interest to Juba and Kleopatra Selene since they shared some of the same ancestors. Both claimed descent from Herakles, and Kleopatra Selene had Seleukid ancestry through her great-great-great-grandmother, Kleopatra I, wife of Ptolemaios V. Moreover, Kleopatra Selene's father was, as noted, involved in the affairs of the Kommagenean kingdom. Thus the Nemrut Dağ monument touched the Mauretanian world in a number of ways, although it is unique only in its ostentation, and such programmatic sculpture of Hellenistic monarchs, whose origins lie in Persian and even Assyrian reliefs, would have existed in many places.

Rome had also developed such a tradition. Caesar's Forum Julium was strongly dynastic, including a statue of the dictator himself, and, more significantly, a golden statue of Kleopatra Selene's mother.[89] A dynastic program also existed in Pompeius' theater complex[90] and, somewhat later, in Augustus' Forum[91] and, of course, on the Ara Pacis. Thus there was a complex symbolism of visual imagery in the Rome of Juba's and Kleopatra Selene's youth. How this defined the Augustan era, especially in its creation of a new concept of the Roman past, is well known.[92] Juba's own professional interest in Roman history and the theater was part of this, and in his maturity, when he returned to Rome for visits, he would be able to see the public advancement of Augustus' successors and how they were positioned within the national myth. His later intimacy with Gaius Caesar meant that Juba was uniquely placed both to observe and to participate in the developing self-conception of Augustan Rome.[93] Juba and Kleopatra Selene would have transferred many of these ideas to Mauretania, another way that they created a kingdom that was a reflection of Rome. Juba's *Libyka* was, in part, the literary rendition of Mauretanian and Numidian origins and an affirmation – and legitimizing – of the continued Ptolemaic involvement in northern Africa. This was complemented by the visual program of dynastic and historical sculpture that the monarchs established at their cities.[94]

89 Appian, *Civil War* 2.102; Dio 51.22.3.

90 *NH* 36.41.

91 The sources are collected in *NTDAR*, pp. 160–2.

92 Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), pp. 210–13.

93 Zanker (supra note 92), pp. 215–23, but he is in error in suggesting that Juba was affected by growing up with Gaius in Rome, as the latter was not born until after Juba left the city.

94 The wealth of Greek household and luxury goods from the Mahdia shipwreck of around 80 BC, found off the Tunisian coast, is a material testimony to how Juba's Caesarea could have been stocked. See *Wrack* and Ramsay MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 48.

The remains of the Mauretanian sculptural program are fragmentary, but all of the proper elements are extant.[95] The commemoration of Juba's ancestry – which the king stressed as far back as Massinissa[96] – is known through one extant portrait of his father, a heavily bearded head from Caesarea now in the Louvre (Figure 15).[97] The head is indeed "bene capillatus," as Cicero described Juba I, and the only surviving piece of a collection of sculpture that displayed the ancestors of Juba II.[98]

Kleopatra Selene's heritage was also commemorated. A portrait from Caesarea, now in the Cherchel Museum, seems to conform best to existing types of Kleopatra VII, although the evidence is not strong.[99] Another portrait from Caesarea, of a veiled head, may be of either Kleopatra VII or her daughter.[100] But as Kleopatra VII's only surviving child, only Kleopatra Selene could keep alive the memory of her famous mother – especially in such a way as to avoid the demonization of her in contemporary Roman literature – and thus it is probable that she would have commissioned many portraits. Other surviving images of Kleopatra VII, such as the ones in Berlin and the Vatican,[101] may have emanated from the Mauretanian court.

No certain portraits of Kleopatra Selene have been found at Caesarea, although the two pieces noted above may be the queen.[102] A bone counter in the British Museum, 2.8 cm across, shows the left-facing bust of a woman wearing a *sakkos*, with curls remindful of portraits of Kleopatra VII, but the

95 On the program itself, see R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 106, 140–1.

96 *CIL* 2.3417 = *ILS* 840, from Carthago Nova.

97 Louvre MA 1885; Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London: Phaidon, 1965), p. 280; Klaus Fittschen, "Bildnisse numidischen Könige," *Numider*, pp. 209–13, pl. 57; Smith (supra note 95), no. 123.

98 Cicero, *De lege agraria* 2.59. Other portraits have unconvincingly been identified as depictions of Juba I: see Richter (supra note 97), p. 280. The rider stele from Chemtou in Numidia has the best chance of being a portrait of him (supra, Chapter 1, note 128), but it may not have been part of the Mauretanian sculpture program. A head of personified Africa (identifiable because of the elephant on it), in the style of the Augustan period, may also be part of Juba's ancestral program (Cherchel Museum no. 34; *Numider*, pp. 542–3).

99 Cherchel Museum no. S66 (31); *Cleopatra*, no. 197; Klaus Fittschen, "Zwei Ptolemäerbildnisse in Cherchel," in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, ed. Nicola Bonacasa and Antonio di Vita (Rome 1983–4), p. 168; Richter (supra note 97), p. 280; German Hafner, "Das Bildniss Massinissa," *AA* 1970, pp. 420–1. It is often identified as Kleopatra VII or even Sophoniba.

100 Cherchel Museum 28 (S65); *Cleopatra*, no. 262.

101 Antikenmuseum 1976.10 (Smith [supra note 95], no. 68); Vatican 179 (Smith [supra note 95], no. 67).

102 On the question of portraits of Kleopatra Selene, see Peter Higgs, "Searching for Cleopatra's Image: Classical Portraits in Stone," *Cleopatra*, pp. 207–8; also Fittschen, "Zwei Ptolemäer-Bildnisse" (supra note 99), pp. 168–70; Klaus Vierneisel, "Die Berliner Kleopatra," *JBerlMus* 22, 1980, 15–16; see also Fittschen, "Bildnesse Numidischen Könige" (supra note 97), p. 222, pl. 74, and J. Charbonneaux, "Un Portrait de Cléopâtre VII au Musée de Cherchel," *LibAE* 2, 1954, 49–63; Richter (supra note 97), p. 280. Smith (supra note 95), no. 69, categorically rejected the other attributions.

Figure 15 Portrait bust of Juba I, from Cherchel (Paris, Louvre MA 1885).

Photograph by M. and P. Chuzeville. Courtesy Musée du Louvre.

Figure 16 Gilded silver dish from Boscoreale, perhaps representing Kleopatra Selene (Paris, Louvre Bj 1969).

Photograph by Ch. Larrieu. Courtesy Musée du Louvre.

piece has been suggested to be her daughter.[103] If this is so, its Egyptian provenience indicates that Kleopatra Selene was still recognized in her homeland well into maturity. More significant is a gilded silver dish in the Louvre, part of the collection found at Boscoreale in 1895 (Figure 16).[104] It is 22.5 cm across and has the figure of a woman depicted in high relief. Her features are remindful of those of Kleopatra VII, but are not the same. On her head is the scalp of an elephant; on one breast is an asp and on the other a panther. To her left is a cornucopia with Helios engraved as a young man.

[103] GR 1927.3–18.5; *Cleopatra*, no. 265.

[104] Bj 1969; Andreas Linfert, "Die Tochter – Nicht die Mutter. Nochmals zur "Africa"-Schale von Boscoreale," in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di Achille Adriana*, ed. Nicola Bonacasa and Antonino di Vita, Studi e Materiali [Palermo] 4–5 (Rome 1983–4), pp. 351–8.

On her right shoulder is a lion. The piece has a complex visual symbolism that points consistently to a North African context, with the cornucopia and lion especially remindful of the coinage of the Mauretanian monarchs. The suggestion that it is a portrait of Kleopatra Selene has much merit. Perhaps it was commissioned by her son after his mother's death as a gift to his in-laws in the imperial family.[105] If it is the Mauretanian queen, it is the best extant portrait of her.

These presumed representations of Kleopatra Selene are not exactly part of the Mauretanian artistic program and were probably not commissioned by the queen. Yet there is an extensive repertory from Caesarea that demonstrates royal patronage. An example is a male portrait perhaps of Ptolemaios I of Egypt.[106] It has certain similarities to his coins, but even Klaus Fittschen, who proposed the identification, was somewhat hesitant. Yet if this attribution is correct, it is the only remnant of Kleopatra Selene's program of ancestral sculpture other than portraits of her mother, a repertory that thus went back to the founder of her dynasty, and probably included her Seleukid ancestors as well as Alexander the Great.

Her Ptolemaic heritage, however, is more strongly manifested by the Egyptian sculpture that ended up at Caesarea. Most notable is a statue of the priest Petubastes IV (Figure 17).[107] The work is an Egyptian creation in basalt, complete with a hieroglyphic inscription identifying him as a priest of Ptah and giving his age and death date, 31 July 30 BC. This was one of the worst days of a difficult summer in Alexandria, when Dionysos himself – Antonius' alter ego – abandoned the city.[108] The following day Octavian attacked and the city fell; within nine days Kleopatra Selene's parents were dead. Petubastes IV was only 16 when he died as the god was deserting the city: he may have been a favorite of the 10-year-old princess.

Other sculptures of Egyptian origin at Caesarea include one of Tuthmosis I, the great pharoah of the Eighteenth Dynasty, preserved only below the knees,[109] a Uraeus,[110] and a head perhaps of Ammon.[111] All these show the emphasis on things Egyptian – actually imported from Alexandria – at Caesarea

105 *Cleopatra*, no. 324.

106 Cherchel Museum 50; Fittschen, "Zwei Ptolemäerbildnisse" (supra note 99), pp. 165–8; Fittschen, "Bildnisse numidische Könige" (supra note 97), p. 221; Smith (supra note 95), no. 124, tended toward identification as Juba II or Ptolemaios of Mauretania.

107 Cherchel Museum S75 (94); Fittschen, "Juba II. und seine Residenz" (supra note 19), pp. 238–9 pl. 75.

108 Plutarch, *Antonius* 75; on the chronology and meaning of the portents, see Christopher Pelling, "The Triumviral Period," *CAH*^{2} 10, 1996, 63.

109 Cherchel Museum S74 (95); see Nacéra Benseddik *et al.*, *Cherchel* (Algiers: Direction des Musées, de l'archéologique et des monuments et sites historiques, 1983), p. 30.

110 Cherchel Museum 86; Stéphane Gsell, *Cherchel: Antique Iol–Caesarea* (Algiers: Direction de l'Intérieur et des Beaux-Arts, 1952), p. 38.

111 Cherchel Museum 66; see Michelin Fasciato and Jean Leclant, "Une Tête 'ammonienne' du Musée de Cherchel," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire* 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 360–75.

Figure 17 Petubastes IV, from Cherchel (Cherchel Museum S75).
Photograph by Duane W. Roller. Courtesy Agence Nationale d'Archéologie, Algiers.

The statue of Tuthmosis I, who reigned *ca.* 1525–1512 BC,[112] was probably the oldest antique at the Caesarea court. A statue of Isis or a priestess of Isis,[113] from the second century AC, shows that the Egyptian orientation of Caesarea outlived Kleopatra Selene and her family, and bronze Alexandrian lamps at Volubilis and in western Mauretania demonstrate that these tastes were not limited to the royal city itself.[114] A bronze Dionysos bust from Volubilis, now in the Rabat Museum,[115] although perfectly acceptable within any program of Greek and Roman mythology, may also have Egyptian connections, given the tendencies of Antonius: it displays similarities to a bronze bust of Juba II also from Volubilis. A relief Sphinx from Caesarea, although of uncertain context, may also be Egyptian in inspiration, although in an Augustan style.[116]

Roman notables, past and present, were part of the Mauretanian program. Central, needless to say, was the Princeps himself, and Caesarea has yielded a cuirass statue second only in quality to the Prima Porta Augustus, found near the theater and perhaps once adorning that structure (Figure 18).[117] The decoration on the breastplate depicts the ultimate avenging of the death of Julius Caesar, culminating in the Battle of Actium, not only a remarkable parallel to the *Aeneid*[118] but an astonishing piece of political pragmatism since this conspicuous public sculpture at Caesarea memorialized the defeat of Kleopatra Selene's parents and necessarily ignored the prominent role of her father in the avenging of Caesar's death. Doing honor to Augustus was a necessity, and the Caesarea statue is the centerpiece of this endeavor.[119]

The Romans depicted in the Mauretanian sculptural program were not limited to the new regime. One of the finest pieces is a bronze portrait of Cato, the famous ally of Juba's father. Discovered in 1944 at Volubilis and now in Rabat, it has the advantage of an undisputed attribution, as it is inscribed "CATO."[120] It was found in a private house of the third century

112 For the chronology, see William C. Hayes, "Egypt: Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III," *CAH*³ 2.1, 1973, 315–16.

113 Cherchel Museum 2; Christa Landwehr, *Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae: Denkmäler aus Stein und Bronze* 1: *Idealplastik Weibliche Figuren Benannt*, *AF* 18 (1993), no. 50 (pp. 66–70); see also her no. 51 (p. 71); Benseddik *et al.* (supra note 109), p. 19.

114 Charles Picard, "Lampes de bronze alexandrines à Volubilis et Banasa (Maroc)," *RA* 45, 1955, 63–8

115 Beryl Barr-Sharrar, *The Hellenistic and Early Imperial Decorative Bust* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), C88, p. 98. A maenad, also in bronze, may be part of the same group (Barr-Sharrar C149)

116 Cherchel Museum 45; *Numider*, pp. 544–5.

117 Cherchel Museum S72 (177); Klaus Fittschen, "Zur Panzerstatue in Cherchel," *Jdl* 91, 1976, 175–210. For its qualitative comparison to the Prima Porta Augustus, see Ann L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 29–30. Zanker (supra note 92), p. 223, rather inexplicably, identified the statue as Gaius Caesar. He would have been honored at Caesarea, but no statue has been found.

118 Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.675.

119 Erika Simon, *Augustus: Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende* (Munich: Hirmer, 1986), p. 223

120 Charles Picard, "La Date du buste en bronze de Caton d'Utique trouvé à Volubilis, Maroc," in *Neue Beiträge zur klassichen Altertumswissenschaft: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Bernhard Schweitzer*, ed. Reinhard Lullies (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1954), pp. 334–40.

Figure 18 Cuirass statue, probably of Augustus, from Cherchel (Cherchel Museum S72). Photograph by E. Kleinefenn, Paris. Courtesy Christa Landwehr and Agence Nationale d'Archéologie, Algiers.

AC, and this has resulted in unconvincing attempts to date it to later than the time of the client monarchy.[121] Although Cato did retain some popularity in North Africa in later imperial times – a statue of him on the beach at Utica was visible in Plutarch's day[122] – one cannot imagine any time other than that of Juba for his portrait to be commissioned at remote Volubilis, and its third century AC context would represent a dispersal of the king's private collection at that time, perhaps when his palace was rebuilt as the Roman governor's residence.[123] Moreover, its similarity to a youthful bronze of Juba II,[124] which can hardly have been created at any time much later than his assumption of the kingship in 25 BC, indicates that the Cato portrait is from the same era and even the same artist or workshop. Juba may have discreetly chosen to honor him at Volubilis rather than at his more conspicuous royal city. Cato and his family – his daughter Porcia and his son-in-law Brutus – represented the best of the republican tradition Juba's father had supported and thus could be put forth as examples of Roman virtue – certainly a relevant Augustan topic – rather than as proponents of a discredited political system.[125]

Central to the sculptural program were representations of the monarchs themselves. Kleopatra Selene is uncertainly documented: as noted, opinion is divided as to whether the portraits in the Cherchel Museum are of her or her mother. But at least nine portraits of Juba II, in two different types, have been identified.[126] These come from Caesarea,[127] Volubilis,[128] and Sala,[129] as might be expected. Some may have been created after the king's death.[130] One now in Madrid[131] is believed to be of Italian origin and one in Copenhagen (Figure 19),[132] from Rome, may be a wedding portrait. The Volubilis piece, an idealized youthful bronze in the Greek style, is perhaps the official image of the 23-year-old monarch when he assumed office. The others show

121 See, for example, Christiane Boube-Piccot, "Techniques de fabrication des bustes de bronze de Juba II et de Caton d'Utique découverts à Volubilis," *BAMaroc* 7, 1967, 447–75.

122 Plutarch, *Cato the Younger* 71.

123 J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Historical Portraits* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 39–41

124 Rabat Museum 146.

125 Plutarch, *Cato the Younger* 71–3.

126 Klaus Fittschen, "Die Bildnisse der mauretanischen Könige und ihre stadtrömischen Vorbilder," *MM* 15, 1974, 156–73.

127 Cherchel Museum 21, 37, 50; Louvre MA 1886, 3182; see also Fittschen, "Bildnisse numidischer Könige" (supra note 97), pp. 213–17; Richter (supra note 97), p. 280; Smith (supra note 95) pp. 179–80.

128 Rabat Museum 146.

129 Now in Rabat; see Jean Boube, "Un Nouveau Portrait de Juba II découvert à Sala," *BAMaroc* 6, 1966, 91–106.

130 For example, Louvre MA 1886, perhaps a death memorial erected by his son at Caesarea.

131 Prado ABr 963/4; Fittschen, *MM* (supra note 126), p. 157.

132 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1591; *Numider*, pp. 496–7.

Figure 19 Portrait bust of Juba II, from Rome (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1591).

Courtesy Christa Landwehr and Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

him at varying stages of youth, but none in old age, when he may have grown a beard.[133]

As Ptolemaios, the son of Juba and Kleopatra Selene, reached maturity, his portraits were added to the royal collection. At least a dozen are known.[134] But these belong in a different iconographic tradition than those of his father, since unlike Juba, Ptolemaios was a member of the Augustan family, a blood relative of the emperors Gaius Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Thus his portraiture is somewhat influenced by the iconography of the imperial family, with a hairstyle perhaps derived from that of Gaius Caesar[135] or even Augustus.[136] A portrait in Oslo has been identified as either Ptolemaios[137] or his cousin Nero,[138] demonstrating the similarity between the representations of Ptolemaios and the young men of the Julio-Claudian family.

The assumed portraits of Ptolemaios emanate from both Mauretania and Italy. Several are from Caesarea.[139] From Sala is a full statue in Pentelic marble in the style of the Doryphoros and perhaps of Greek or even Athenian origin,[140] indicative of the close ties that he had with the Greek world, something that may eventually have contributed to his death.[141] Other portraits come from Italy,[142] where, as a direct descendant of Antonius, he would have been popular. Ptolemaios did not live to old age and thus the portraits are youthful, with the one in Uppsala perhaps the youngest, dating to about the time Juba II raised him to a regency, around AD 17–21. Louvre MA 1887 (Figure 20) is a somewhat more mature Ptolemaios, with heavy sideburns, similar to those on his coins.[143] The oldest age represented may be

133 Mazard, #355, 356. These coins are not dated and are joint issues with Kleopatra Selene, so they may in fact be earlier rather than later. One would expect Juba II to spend most of his life clean shaven, given his upbringing in the Augustan household and the ridicule heaped upon his hirsute father.

134 Fittschen, *MM* (supra note 126), pp. 158–60; see also Toynbee (supra note 123), pp. 93–4; Richter (supra note 97), p. 281; Smith (supra note 95), pp. 179–80.

135 This was advanced by Fittschen, *MM* (supra note 126), pp. 170–3; for a critique that finds the idea attractive but specifics lacking, see John Pollini, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), pp. 28–30.

136 Pollini (supra note 135), p. 29.

137 Frederik Poulson, "Porträtkopf eines numidischen Königs," *SymbOslo* 3, 1925, 1–13; Richter (supra note 97), p. 281.

138 Fittschen, *MM* (supra note 126), p. 160.

139 Cherchel Museum 40, 52 (on this, see François Chamoux, "Un Nouveau Portrait de Ptolémée de Maurétanie découvert à Cherchel," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, ed. Raymond Chevallier [Paris; SEVPEN, 1966], vol. 1, pp. 395–406), and a third unnumbered (Fittschen, *MM* [supra note 126], D3); Louvre MA 1887, 1888, 3813.

140 Rabat Museum S-2289; Jean Boube, "Une Statue-portrait de Ptolémée de Maurétanie à Sala (Maroc)," *RA* 1990, pp. 331–60; Smith (supra note 95), no. 125, who saw this as an early Juba II or an ancestor.

141 Infra, pp. 253–5.

142 Vatican Braccio Nuovo 65; a piece in the Villa Albani in Rome (Fittschen, *MM* [supra note 126], D4) and one in a private collection in Uppsala, Sweden (Fittschen, *MM* [supra note 126], C1).

143 Mazard, #500, 501, 506–11, some dated to Years 15–17 = AD 32–8.

20 Ptolemaios of Mauretania, from Cherchel (Louvre MA 1887). Photograph by M. and P. Chuzeville. Courtesy Musée du Louvre.

Cherchel Museum no. 40, although its poor state of preservation makes analysis difficult.

The Mauretanian program was completed by a vast repertory of Greco-Roman mythological and allegorial sculpture, a direct imitation of similar endeavors in contemporary Rome.[144] No Greek originals have been found, but there are copies of works by famous Greek artists such as Skopas.[145] Especially noteworthy is a Kore of the Villa Albani type.[146] Other copies of Greek originals include a miniature bronze Aphrodite undoing her sandal,[147] and an Artemis or Diana of the Versailles type.[148] There are numerous representations of Herakles or Hercules,[149] and several versions of Apollo.[150] Other gods and goddesses, too numerous to cite, were also part of the program.[151] Three immense heads, 0.86–0.90 m high, perhaps Juppiter (or Neptune), Juno, and Venus, survive from a colossal divine group, part of an elaborate composition in the style of Augustan cultic sculpture.[152]

Only one artist at the royal court is known by name, the distinguished gem-cutter Gnaios, who was part of Kleopatra Selene's entourage and had worked for her father in Alexandria: a signed portrait of Antonius is now in the Ionides Collection in London.[153] Gnaios came to the Mauretanian court and carved portraits of Diomedes (now in Chatsworth, England) and Herakles (now in the British Museum) – both personages of interest to Juba – and of a queenly figure (now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York), probably Kleopatra Selene. He may also have been involved in producing the Mauretanian coin types.[154] Gnaios, who came from a Hellenistic court,

144 Gilbert Charles Picard, "La Sculpture dans l'Afrique romaine," in *150-Jahr-Feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rome*, *RM Supp.* 25, 1982, 189–90. On the similar activities in Rome, and Juba's direct imitation of them, see Susan Walker, "The Moral Museum: Augustus and the City of Rome," in *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, ed. J. Coulson and H. Dodge, Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 54, 2000, pp. 61–75.

145 Cherchel Museum S109; Charles Picard, "Une Réplique oubliée du Pothos scopasique," *RA* 6th ser. 25, 1946, 224–5; Christa Landwehr, *Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae: Denkmäler aus Stein und Bronze* 2: *Idealplastik: Männliche Figuren* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), no. 112.

146 Cherchel Museum 12 (S10); *Numider*, pp. 534–5; Fittschen, "Juba II. und Seine Residenz" (supra note 19), pp. 234–8.

147 Algiers Musée National 590; Landwehr 1 (supra note 113), no. 6.

148 Cherchel Museum S231; Landwehr 1 (supra note 113), no. 16.

149 Landwehr 2 (supra note 145), nos. 94–101.

150 Landwehr 2 (supra note 145), nos. 67–74.

151 Landwehr's catalogs (vol. 1, supra note 113; vol. 2, supra note 145) include 175 different pieces of Greco-Roman mythological and allegorical sculpture. Although many are from later than the period of the monarchy, they demonstrate the continuing role of Caesarea as a sculptural center.

152 Cherchel Museum 123–5; *Numider*, pp. 538–41.

153 John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings, Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London: Harry N. Abrams [1970]), pl. 1013, and his *Engraved Gems: The Ionides Collection* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 27.

154 Marie-Louise Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und Augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden: Grimm, 1966), pp. 45–6.

where he had worked for a Roman aristocrat, demonstrates the artistic cross-fertilization of the Mauretanian kingdom. Many of the art works are, to be sure, derivative, but nonetheless the monarchs succeeded in their artistic attempts to create a Caesarea that was a proper image of Rome.

The royal court

The intellectual culture of the court was directed by Juba's own heritage and interests, but especially those of Kleopatra Selene, who honored the memory of her mother and her mother's land, and created a distinct Hellenistic Egyptian tone.[155] By choosing to name her son Ptolemaios – thereby passing over Juba's ancestral names – Kleopatra Selene further emphasized her role as the one who would continue the Ptolemaic dynasty and nullify its deposing in 30 BC. One cannot overemphasize the significance of this nomenclature – a rare example of reaching into the mother's family rather than the father's for the name of the primary male heir – as it conspicuously demonstrates that Kleopatra Selene saw herself as heiress of the Ptolemies and the leader of a Ptolemaic government in exile. This role and her stature are most strikingly manifest in her series of autonomous coins and the depiction of the Nile crocodile on them (Figure 26c, d, p. 246).[156] Her heritage is also commemorated in the Greek legend on her coins, unlike those of her husband, which are almost always in Latin. Unfortunately, none of her autonomous coins is dated, so it is impossible to fit them chronologically into the history of the kingdom.[157]

There is also a long series of joint coins with Juba (Figure 26a, b, p. 246). These are inevitably bilingual and have Egyptian symbols such as the Uraeus, Isis paraphernalia, crocodiles, and perhaps the cult statue of Juppiter Ammon.[158] The only dated one is Juba's Year 6, 19 BC, perhaps an early

155 Although it is likely that the inspiration was directly from Alexandria and Kleopatra Selene's heritage, Hellenistic Egyptian motifs were also acutely topical in contemporary Rome, and thus the egyptianizing of Mauretania could also be seen as romanizing. On the egyptianizing in Augustan Rome, see Sarolta A. Takács, "Alexandria in Rome," *HSCP* 97, 1995, 269–71.

156 Mazard #392–5. The crocodile coins are remindful of those issued in her childhood when she was queen of Kyrene, as well as those of Octavian from 28 BC (Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* 1: *Augustus to Vitellius* (London: British Museum Publications, 1923, reprinted with revisions 1976), p. 106, nos. 650–5. These have the unfortunate legend "Aegypto capta," and Kleopatra Selene's coins of a few years later may be seen as a response by the true ruler of Egypt.

157 The convoluted theories to explain these coins, involving regencies or divorce and remarriage, are unnecessary; her status is sufficient explanation. Moreover, one need not assume any division of territory between the sovereigns (see Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 219–20): the queen's immense status meant that her personality was more dominant than those of the shadowy queens of many other client kingdoms.

158 Mazard #297–374; Dieter Salzmann, "Zur Münzprägung der mauretanischen Könige Juba II. und Ptolemaios," *MM* 15, 1974, 177–8; but see Gsell, vol. 8, p. 219.

wedding anniversary.[159] Isis symbols also appear on coins of Juba alone,[160] and this and his occasional use of Greek legends[161] indicate that the Egyptian influence at the court transcended the personality of Kleopatra Selene.

Egypt was not the sole cultural influence at Caesarea. The Roman qualities of the court are obvious, in military organization, layout and institutions of the city, and the establishment of an imperial cult, an early and important priority of the kingdom.[162] As usual, numismatic evidence is the most informative. Many coins show the Capricorn,[163] significantly Augustus' own sign and appearing on his coins.[164] Coins also seem to provide evidence for games in honor of the emperor. These have Juba's name, the legend "CAESAREA," and a crown,[165] perhaps a victory crown for the games at Caesarea.[166] Imperial games were a common feature of client kingdoms, such as the Kaisareia, an athletic, music, and dramatic festival, at Herod's Caesarea,[167] and it can be presumed that Juba also inaugurated them.[168]

Another cult of significance was that of Saturn, since worship of the god was another way that Juba could connect the cultures of Rome and Mauretania. The Augustan age was a Golden Age, the new era of Saturn.[169] Greek Kronos, hardly a positive or uplifting figure, was transformed into the ideal Italian agriculturalist, the patron of the Latin people.[170] In Rome, the Temple of Saturn, one of the oldest of the Roman shrines, was splendidly rebuilt beginning in 42 BC by the Caesarean L. Munatius Plancus, who would be one of the most distinguished Augustan loyalists of the following years.[171] There were also indigenous reasons to emphasize the cult of Saturn.[172] The god was

159 Mazard #357; supra, pp. 86–7.
160 Mazard #271–4.
161 Mazard #270.
162 James Rives, "Imperial Cult and Native Tradition in Roman North Africa," *CJ* 96, 2001, 427–9, Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 187–94.
163 Mazard, #290–2, 391.
164 Suetonius, *Augustus* 94.12; Salzmann (supra note 158), pp. 174–5; Michèle Coltelloni-Trannoy, "Le Monnayage des rois Juba II et Ptolémée de Maurétanie: image d'une adhésion réitérée à la politique romaine," *Karthago* 22, 1990, 46–7.
165 Mazard #227–35.
166 It may also be a representation of the *corona civica* that Augustus received in 27 BC (Augustus, *Res gestae* 34), or even Juba's own *corona civica*.
167 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 15.268–71.
168 Gsell, vol. 8, pp. 226–7; Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 191–2.
169 This is carefully outlined by Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 93–7; also, for the historical development of the myth of the Golden Age, see Kenneth J. Reckford, "Some Appearances of the Golden Age," *CJ* 54, 1958–9, 79–87.
170 Vergil, *Georgics* 2.536–40, *Aeneid* 6.791–5.
171 *NTDAR* 343–4; Thomas H. Watkins, *L. Munatius Plancus: Serving and Surviving in the Roman Revolution*, Illinois Classical Studies 7 (Atlanta 1997), pp. 132–3.
172 For a thorough study of Saturn in Africa, see Marcel LeGlay, *Saturne africain, histoire*, BÉFAR 200 (1966), and his *Saturne africain, monuments* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1966).

associated with the royal ancestor Herakles,[173] and was common in North Africa, often along with Baal-Ammon,[174] who himself was connected with Augustus.[175] Juba I had placed Ammon on his coins,[176] a practice that his son and Kleopatra Selene would follow.[177] All this would encourage Juba II to give prominence to Saturn, the *frugifer deus*,[178] within his agriculturally abundant kingdom, and by AD 30 a sanctuary of the god existed at Caesarea, where prayers were offered for the health of King Ptolemaios.[179] One of those attending, Julia Vitale, came some distance from the city of Rusguniae,[180] indicating that it was an important cult: it would not have assumed the role of guardian of the king's welfare were it not one of the central shrines of the kingdom.[181] Although the cult is not documented before the time of Ptolemaios, the importance of Saturn to the Augustan self-conception and the precedents from Juba's own ancestry are sufficient reason to see it as another example of Juba's blending of indigenous and Roman cultural phenomena. Mauretania, like the world of Saturn, was a region of agricultural abundance, and emphasis on the cult of Saturn could insure the inclusion of Mauretania in the Augustan Golden Age of *Saturnia regna*.[182] It is no accident that Vergil mentioned Saturn and the Garamantes in juxtaposition, implying that it was through the force of Saturn that the African frontier was secure.[183]

173 Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Archaeology* 1.34; see also LeGlay, *Saturne, histoire* (supra note 172), p. 245.
174 LeGlay, *Saturne, histoire* (supra note 172), pp. 62–7, 215–16, 414–15.
175 L. Müller *et al.*, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, vol. 2, reprint (Chicago: OBOL International, 1977), pp. 57–8, #29.
176 Mazard #90, 92.
177 Mazard #355–6.
178 Raymond Thouvenot, "Le Culte de Saturne en Maurétanie Tingitane," *RÉA* 56, 1954, 150–3.
179 Louis Leschi, "Un Sacrifice pour le salut de Ptolémée, roi de Maurétanie," in *Mélanges de géographie et d'orientalisme offerts à E.-F. Gautier* (Tours: Arrault et Cie., 1937), pp. 332–40; LeGlay, *Saturne, histoire* (supra note 172), p. 79. For further evidence for the cult at Caesarea, see LeGlay, *Saturne, monuments* (supra note 172), pp. 315–21.
180 Rusguniae is at Cape Matifou, just east of Algiers, nearly 100 km from Caesarea. See P.-A. Février, "Rusguniae," *PECS*, p. 776; *NH* 5.20; *BAGRW*, map 30. The city seems to have had a special relationship with King Ptolemaios, as is shown by the honor paid to him by the local magistrate L. Caecilius Rufus Agilis (*CIL* 8.9257; *Numider*, pl. 113).
181 In western Mauretania the cult was less common (LeGlay, *Saturne, histoire* [supra note 172], pp. 266–7; Thouvenot [*RÉA*, supra note 172], pp. 150–3). Temple B at Volubilis, a structure of the Severan period but with pre-Roman antecedents, at the east of the city, across the Wadi Fertassa, has been traditionally known as the Temple of Saturn (Michel Ponsich, "Le Temple dit de Saturne à Volubilis," *BAMaroc* 10, 1976, 131–44) but this is purely hypothetical and not generally accepted (Jodin, *Volubilis*, pp. 167–8). Epigraphic evidence from Volubilis for the cult is catalogued by LeGlay, *Saturne, monuments* (supra note 172), pp. 335–6.
182 Vergil, *Eclogues* 6.41–2; William S. Anderson, "Juno and Saturn in the *Aeneid*," *Studies in Philology* 55, 1958, 531–2.
183 Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.794.

In addition to emphasizing the Roman and Ptolemaic nature of his court, Juba did not neglect its indigenous African heritage – as the cult of Saturn shows – although strangely this would have been the least familiar to him. It is probable that members of the Numidian exile community were among the entourage that made the journey from Rome to Iol in 25 BC; these and the existing local elite of Iol would have provided Juba with the information that he needed. Most important was the association with Herakles, because like the cult of Saturn, it also connected indigenous North African history with that of the Greco-Roman world. Some of his labors had long been localized in northwest Africa, and a number of the Mauretanian tribes claimed descent from him.[184] The palace of Antaios and the Gardens of the Hesperides were said to be at Lynx (Lixos).[185] A genealogy was promulgated by the inhabitants of Tingis, in which the civic eponym, Tinga, widow of Antaios, had a child, Sophax, by Herakles, whose son Diodoros was the ancestor of Juba.[186] Although Plutarch was rightly dubious about this, such tales were common in the cities of western Mauretania, which lay close to the Pillars of Herakles.[187] Moreover, Herakles was topical in contemporary Rome. When Augustus returned to the city after his extended Spanish residence that resulted in Juba's kingship, his long time in the west was compared to the labors of Hercules.[188] There were numerous temples and shrines to the god in Rome,[189] one of which, the Temple of Hercules

184 *NH* 5.7; Strabo 17.3.7; Pomponius Mela 1.26–7; Paul Corbier, "Hercule africain, divinité indigène?," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne 1974*, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 166 (Paris 1974), pp. 95–104.

185 *NH* 5.1–4. Pliny was skeptical about the details of the tale but noted the presence of an altar of Hercules on an island where the famous garden had supposedly been, and reported that the locals felt that the twisting course of the estuary of the Lixos River resembled the serpent that had guarded the apples. He further commented that the grove had been taken over by olive trees. See, further, Sergio Ribichini, "Hercule à Lixus et le Jardin des Hespérides," *Lixus*, pp. 131–6.

Today the ruins of Lixos (Figure 12, p. 134), the second largest Roman site in Morocco, are located on a high promontory overlooking the distinctly serpentine channel of the Loukas River, which preserves the ancient name. The valley is largely silted in, and where the *garum* factories of antiquity once stood there are extensive salt-making operations: the site is now 4 km inland. The estuary is one of the few sheltered places on the Atlantic coast of northern Morocco and was known to Hanno, who landed there and became friends with the local pastoral Lixitai; he was the first to cite the name. On the site of Lixos/Lynx, see Maurice Lenoir, "Lixus à l'époque romaine," *Lixus*, pp. 271–87.

186 Plutarch, *Sertorius* 9. On the Heraklid connections of Juba, see Albert-Marie Denis, "Héraclès et ses cousins de Judée: le syncrétisme d'un historien juif hellénistique," *Hommages à Marie Delcourt*, Collection Latomus 114 (Brussels 1970), pp. 168–78, which, however, must be read with extreme caution; Elizabeth Smadja, "Juba II Hercule sur le monnayage maurétanien," in *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque*, ed. Marie-Madelaine Mactoux and Evelyne Geny, 8: *Religion, anthropologie et société* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1994), pp. 371–88. Whether young Juba claimed descent from the hero before assuming his kingship is debatable.

187 Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 175–6.

188 Horace, *Odes* 3.14.

189 *NTDAR* has a total of seventeen (pp. 185–9).

Musarum, in the southern Campus Martius, had been restored in 29 BC by L. Marcius Philippus, and whose cult had been described by Juba in his *Roman Archaeology*.[190] If the Roman and North African precedents were not sufficient to make Herakles politically correct in Juba's world, both of Juba's wives also claimed descent from the hero.[191] It would be predictable that the king would seek such a heroic genealogy – his status as an orphan might make this more important – and that Herakles, who had also been honored by Juba's father,[192] would be perceived as an appropriate ancestor. No doubt the cult of Herakles was second at Caesarea only to that of Augustus. The strongest physical evidence is again numismatic, coins that show a lion and a club.[193] Although a seemingly obvious representation of the demise of the Nemean lion is ambiguous because of the strong association of Juba I with lions, this could only be an advantage.[194]

Imperial and ancestral cults at Caesarea were eventually supplemented by one of the royal family itself.[195] Although essentially alien to the West,[196] there were the significant precedents of the imperial cult and Ptolemaic traditions from Egypt, and perhaps even those of the Numidian kings.[197] An inscription hints that Juba (or his son Ptolemaios) established a cult of Hiempsal, Juba's grandfather.[198] Two Christian authors of the early third century AC may provide literary evidence for a cult of Juba himself. In his *Octavius*, a dialogue between a Christian and a pagan from Cirta, M. Minucius Felix listed humans who were said to have become divine: Saturn, Jupiter, Romulus, and Juba – part of a Christian argument that divinity is impossible for mortals.[199] His elder contemporary Tertullian, of Carthage,

190 Juba, fr. 92.

191 Kleopatra Selene was allegedly descended from Herakles on both sides. Heraklid traditions were endemic in Makedonia (see N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia* 2: *550–336 B.C.* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], pp. 3–4, 13), and Antonius also claimed descent (Plutarch, *Antonius* 36.3–4). For Glaphyra, see Josephus, *Jewish War* 1.476, and Denis (supra note 186), pp. 168–73.

192 Gsell, vol. 6, p. 155.

193 Mazard #176–87; Salzmann (supra note 158), pp. 175–6. Some have the club alone (#170–5). Ptolemaios also used the device (#430–9).

194 Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* 7.23. There was also a cult of Tanit-Caelestis at Caesarea by the second century AC, but whether this was established by Juba or previously existed cannot be proven. See Nacéra Benseddik, "Un Nouveau Témoignage du culte de Tanit-Caelestis à Cherchel?" *AntAfr* 20, 1984, 175–81.

195 Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 194–9; Ghazi-Ben Maïssa, *Hespéris-Tamuda* 35.2 (supra note 53), pp. 24–9.

196 Fishwick, *ANRW* (supra note 39), p. 1207. See also Braund, *Friendly King*, pp. 114–15.

197 Michèle Coltelloni-Trannoy, "Le Culte royal sous les règnes de Juba II et de Ptolémée de Maurétanie," in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord (Actes du V^e^ colloque international: Spectacles, vie portuaire, religions)* (Paris: CTHS, 1992), p. 72.

198 Stéphane Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* 1 (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1965), #1242; Gsell, vol. 7, p. 290.

199 Minucius Felix 21.9–11.

included the Mauretanian *reguli* in a list of local gods, including Astarte and Dushares, who were not Roman but existed within the confines of the empire:[200] whether this refers to Juba and Ptolemaios, or local tribal chieftains, is not clear, as Juba and his son would hardly have considered themselves petty kings. Although both authors were writing Christian tracts, both also had North African connections, and were likely to have been well informed regarding local history. There is also more direct evidence for a cult of Ptolemaios, in particular an inscription dedicated to his *genius*[201] and another expressing wishes for his good health, dated to his tenth regnal year, around AD 30.[202] He may have had greater claim than Juba to divine status because of his mother's ancestors,[203] and it may have been he who actually established the Mauretanian royal cult. Yet it is hard to imagine that Ptolemaios would encourage a cult of himself and not of his father,[204] and thus there is a strong probability that both Juba and Ptolemaios were deified, evidently by local demand.[205]

Regardless, Juba received honors throughout the empire. In Athens his statues were erected in the Gymnasion of Ptolemaios and on the Akropolis,[206] and members of his family were also honored by the city;[207] this respect toward client kings and their families was commonplace in Athens during the Augustan period.[208] Closer to home, Juba was *duovir* in two Spanish cities, Gades[209] and Carthago Nova, where he was also *patronus coloniae*.[210] A *duovir* was the chief magistrate in a Roman colonia or municipium,[211] and although Juba's appointments were probably honorary, they represented the realities of politics and economy in the contemporary western Mediterranean. At Carthago Nova he served a five-year term with

200 Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 24.7.

201 *CIL* 8.9342.

202 Leschi (supra note 179), pp. 332–40.

203 Enrique Gozalbes, "El culto indígena a los reyes en Mauritania Tingitana. Surgimiento y pervivencia," in *Paganismo y cristianismo en el occidente del imperio romano*, Memorias de historia antigua 5 (Oviedo 1981), pp. 157–8.

204 For possible cult statues of the kings, see Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 198–9; Christa Landwehr, "Juba II. als Diomedes?" *JdI* 107, 1992, 103–24.

205 The role of the locals was mentioned by Minucius Felix. See also *CIL* 8.20627 and Coltelloni-Trannoy, p. 199.

206 *IG* 2–3^2.3436; Pausanias 1.17.2.

207 Glaphyra: *OGIS* 363; Ptolemaios: *OGIS* 197; an unnamed daughter, *IG* 2^2.3439.

208 See the list in Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 78.

209 The source is the *Ora maritima* (275–83) of Rufus Festus Avienus, a geographical poem of the latter fourth century AC, based on many earlier but uncertain sources. Some 714 lines are preserved, detailing the coast from Brittany to Massalia. See the Murphy edition; Thomson, pp. 53, 275; on his date, John Matthews, "Continuity in a Roman Family: The Rufii Festi of Volsinii," *Historia* 16, 1967, 485–90; and Rhys Carpenter, *Beyond the Pillars of Heracles* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1966), 199–214. The reference to Juba is perhaps from an inscription.

210 Mazard #397.

211 Christian Gizewski, "Duoviri, Duumviri," *NP* 3, 1997, 843–5.

one Cn. Attellius, who was also *pontifex*, probably a prominent local citizen. The date was perhaps around AD 9.[212] Ptolemaios eventually inherited his father's office.[213] Carthago Nova, a Carthaginian foundation of the third century BC, became a Roman colony probably under Caesar, and was a rich and prosperous city with an unusually protected harbor.[214] Gades, an ancient Phoenician city, saw its inhabitants receive Roman citizenship from Caesar and became renowned as a cultural center.[215] It was famous for its great sanctuary of Melqart, which had evolved into one of Herakles: this Roman town that retained North African connections and honored Herakles was a suitable environment for his descendant Juba. It would have been natural for Juba to seek recognition in these areas of Europe closest to his territories and to use his position to foster trade.[216]

An essential part of client kingship was the court circle of scholars, artists, and others attending the king. The tradition of king as patron of culture had its origins as early as the Platonic ideals of the philosopher-king[217] and began to flourish at the time of Alexander the Great.[218] It became virtually a requisite of Hellenistic kingship. With the creation of

212 Antonio Beltrán, "Juba II y Ptolomeo, de Mauritania, II viri quinquennales de Carthago Nova," *Caesaraugusta* 51–2, 1980, 133–41.

213 Mazard #512–14.

214 *NH* 3.19; P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.–A.D. 14* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 250; A. Beltrán, "Carthago Nova," *PECS*, pp. 202–3. Interestingly, Pliny connected Carthago Nova with Caesarea by describing the sea route between the two cities.

215 Livy, *Epitome* 110. On Roman Gades, see A. T. Fear, *Rome and Baetica: Urbanization in Southern Spain, c. 50 BC–AD 150* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 232–7.

216 On the trade issues, see Beltrán, *Caesaraugusta* (supra note 212), pp. 137–8. Juba may also have had a special relationship with cities in coastal Gaul, particularly Nemausus, as shown by numismatic and ceramic evidence (Romanelli, *Storia*, pp. 168–9). But a coin jointly of Juba and Kleopatra Selene, similar to Mazard #350, found at Assier, in the *département* of Lot, 150 km west-north-west of Nemausus, is probably a casual and recent removal, and not evidence of commercial contact: see M. LeGlay, "Une Monnaie de Juba II," *LibAE* 4, 1956, 149–50; Brigitte Fischer, *Les Monnaies antiques d'Afrique du Nord trouvées en Gaule*, *Gallia* supp. 36 (Paris 1978), 129–30. Other finds in modern France are probably also casual removals: coins of Juba II have been found under questionable circumstances at Fréjus and Le Mans (Fischer, p. 131). Both were discovered in the nineteenth century; the Le Mans coin has long been lost. Fréjus, ancient Forum Julii, an important commercial center in the Augustan era, might be expected to have had trade contacts with Mauretania: in fact, its economy was similar to that of Mauretania, with *garum* an important commodity (*NH* 31.95–7). On the site, see A. L. F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis* (London: Batsford, 1988), pp. 226–38. Le Mans is more problematic, although as ancient Subdinum it was occupied in the Augustan period (M. Petit, "Subdinum," *PECS*, p. 864). Regardless of how these coins reached the interior of Europe, they are testimony to the value of coinage in defining the ideals and policies of a state, since those who handled the coins would come to know the Mauretanian self-conception of its prosperity and adherence to Augustan ideals, as the coins showed cornucopiae, victories, Herakles, the Capricorn, and many other politically correct images. See Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Karthago* (supra note 164), pp. 45–53.

217 Plato, *Republic* 5.18 (473d).

218 For a good summary, see Claire Préaux, *Le Monde hellénistique* 1, third edition (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989), pp. 212–20.

the Alexandrian and Pergamene libraries in the third century BC, something again foreseen by Plato,[219] the connection between king and scholarly research was firmly established.[220] Juba would have been part of this tradition merely because he was a Hellenistic king, but his empathy would be further strengthened because of his own credentials as a scholar, which predated even his earliest thoughts of kingship, as well as his eventual role as heir to the Ptolemies. A requisite of any royal court was a fine library, in this case necessary not only for the scholars in residence but for Juba's own researches.[221] According to Elias, the Neoplatonist commentator on Aristotle, Juba's library contained the writings of Pythagoras, but these included forgeries.[222] It is reasonable that Juba would be interested in Pythagoreanism, which had an active following in the Rome of his youth and had come to be connected with Rome's origins,[223] perhaps first gaining popularity through Alexandros Polyhistor, who wrote *On Pythagorean Symbols* and devoted detailed space to Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in his history of the philosophers.[224] Other scholars, especially at the time of Juba's education, were active Pythagorean writers.[225] Moreover, Juba made extensive use of such authors in his *Theatrical History* and *Roman Archaeology*.[226] The near-mythical status of Pythagoras in the Hellenistic period, culminating in Latin literary accounts such as that by Ovid,[227] means that there is a sharp distinction between the philosopher himself and the vast Pythagorean literature: it was probably the latter that Juba collected and which may, in part, be the origin of Elias' skeptical statement. There was also was a brisk trade

219 Plato, *Republic* 528c.

220 Préaux (supra note 218), pp. 230–8.

221 Stéphane Gsell, "Juba II, savant et écrivain,' *RAfr* 68, 1927, 171–9.

222 Elias, preface to *Commentary on the Categories of Aristotle* (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18 [Berlin 1900] 1.128), which reads Jobata, king of Libya, otherwise unknown, and the emendation to Juba is not difficult: Jacoby, *Commentary*, p. 324. See also the parallel comment by Olympiodoros in his preface, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 12 (Berlin 1902) 1.13. Interestingly, Elias and Olympiodoros compared Juba's collecting of the works of Pythagoras to Ptolemaios II's gathering of the works of Aristotle to establish the Alexandria library.

Forgery of texts had become a growth industry, perhaps orginally developing out of rivalry between the Pergamene and Alexandrian libraries. It was profitable to create forgeries for the increasing number of royal libraries coming into existence in late Hellenistic times, as well as the developing Roman interest in Greek literature. As a result, books were often secreted away to protect them from the rapacious royal library acquisitions staff: the familiar but interesting tale of the burying of the books of Aristotle and Theophrastos by the heirs of Neleus of Skepsis (Theophrastos' student and heir) is the prime example (Strabo 13.1.54). On these issues, see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 325–6.

223 Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual Life in Late Republican Rome* (London: Duckworth, 1985), pp. 291–4.

224 *FGrHist* #273, fr. 94; Diogenes Laertios 8.24–6.

225 Supra, p. 67.

226 Infra, p. 175.

227 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.60–478.

in spurious Pythagorean documents, some of which might well have made their way into Juba's library.[228]

The only other comment on the library is that it had a Punic section:[229] presumably this contained Juba's copies of the works from the Carthaginian state library and the *libri punici* of his grandfather Hiempsal. These would have informed Juba about North Africa, and included authors such as Hanno. One can make obvious presumptions about others represented in the collections: Herodotos, Polybios, Berossos, Ktesias, Eudoxos of Kyzikos, Poseidonios, and Sallust were used by Juba for his geographical and historical researches, and Aristoxenos of Taras for music. Members of the scholarly milieu at Rome in which Juba grew up would also have been included, such as Varro and Alexandros Polyhistor. Assuming that Juba kept his library current during his reign, there would be additions of material published during those years, such as Livy, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Diodoros of Sicily, Strabo, and Nikolaos of Damaskos. The text of Agrippa's map would be essential. Clearly, this is a minimal list, and any attempt to create a viable royal library would need much more, including the mainstream Greek and Roman authors from Homer through Cicero, although probably with an emphasis on the Hellenistic historical and geographical authors who are little known today. One would also expect that the flowering of Augustan literature, as it became available – Vergil, Horace, Ovid, and others – also found its way to Mauretania.

As was expected of Hellenistic-Roman monarchs, Juba and Kleopatra Selene attracted scholars and artists to their court. Few names are known. The court tragedian was one Leonteus, from Argos.[230] His teacher was Athenion, who may be the same as the author of the comedy *Samothrakians*, which Juba quoted at length, preserved by Athenaios in a discussion of cooks:[231] why and where Juba cited it is not clear, but the play may have been written at the court. The passage – forty-six lines, mostly of a speech by a cook – discusses how cooks have been part of the civilizing process of humanity.[232] The tone of the excerpt, with its emphasis on human origins, is quite Juban.

The other known member of the Mauretanian court is the royal physician Euphorbos. Nothing is known about his career other than his role in Juba's

228 On the book trade in late Republican Rome, see Rawson (supra note 223), pp. 41–51. But see also Holger Thesleff, *An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings of the Hellenistic Period*, Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora 24.3 (Åbo 1961), pp. 54–5, who argued that it was the actual writings of Pythagoras himself that Juba collected.

229 Ammianus Marcellinus 22.15.8; Solinus 32.2.

230 Athenaios 8.343e.

231 Athenaios 14.660–1; *PCG* 4.13–16 (=Juba, fr. 86).

232 Although the obvious place for the passage would be in Juba's *Theatrical History*, its tone of progress of civilization may mean it is from one of his historical works.

natural history researches and his modern botanical legacy,[233] but Pliny commented that he was the brother of Augustus' physician Antonius Musa.[234] The Antonian name makes it probable that the brothers were freedmen of M. Antonius, and perhaps entered Augustus' household in the service of Antonius' wife Octavia, or his daughter. Thus Euphorbos was in all probability part of the entourage that accompanied Juba and Kleopatra Selene to Mauretania in 25 BC. This indicates that some members of the royal court came from the Augustan household, possibly freedmen and freedwomen of Kleopatra Selene inherited from her father.[235] One of these, the gemcutter Gnaios, has already been discussed.[236]

No other member of the intellectual circle is known for certain. Given his closeness to the royal family, it is probable that Krinagoras of Mytilene was at the court, but there is no specific documentation.[237] An Asarubas who wrote on the geography of Mauretania may have been a member of the court.[238] L. Cornelius Bocchus, who wrote on Numidia and the Iberian peninsula, might have been the court historian or geographer.[239] One of the court mimes was named Ecloga.[240] Other freedmen and freedwomen are known by name:[241] some of the ones of Greek ancestry, such as Aischinos[242] and Philodemos,[243] may have been part of the artistic or scholarly presence.

233 Infra, pp. 178–9.

234 *NH* 25.77.

235 Other Antonii in the Juban household were Aischinos Antonianus (*CIL* 8.9344) and Cleopatra, daughter of C. Antonianus, who lived to be 23 years and 7 months of age (Maurice LeGlay, "Notule suivante," *BAC* 1955–6 [1958], 121–2), and was certainly connected to Kleopatra Selene. Julia Selene (*CIL* 8.21248) and Antonia Galatia Caecilia (M. Lenior, "Inscriptions nouvelles de Volubilis," *BAMaroc* 16, 1985–6, 208–9) are probably much later, but nonetheless descendants of members of the royal household that originated with the Antonii or Kleopatra Selene. Yet many of the freedmen and freedwomen at the court may have been indigenous (P. D. A. Garnsey, "Rome's African Empire under the Principate," in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, ed. P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978], pp. 247–50).

236 Supra, pp. 150–1.

237 See David M. Jacobson, "Three Roman Client Kings: Herod of Judaea, Archelaus of Cappadocia and Juba of Mauretania," *PEQ* 133, 2001, 31, who stated that Krinagoras was "almost certainly" present.

238 *NH* 37.37.

239 He was a source for Pliny (*NH* 16.216, 37.24, 97, 127) and Solinus (1.97, 2.11, 18), and may have been used by Juba: see *HRR*, CXIII–CXXV, 94–5. This may be the same Cornelius Bocchus who served with the *legio III Augusta* in Lusitania (*PIR*^{2} C1333; Mischa Meier Bochum and Meret Strothmann Bochum, "Cornelius Bocchus," *NP* 3, 1997, 197–8).

240 *CIL* 6.10110. On mime as a literary form, see Nicholas Horsfall, "Prose and Mime," in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* 2: *Latin Literature*, ed. E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 293–4.

241 See the lists, Coltelloni-Trannoy, pp. 203, 215–17. These are usually from tombstones around Caesarea, and record many who held domestic positions at the court, such as Juba's chef C. Julius Nigeros (Leveau, *Caesarea*, p. 21) or Ptolemaios' valet Julius Narcissus (*AÉpigr* 1971, #519). P. Antius Amphio (supra note 14) may have been director of the royal architectural atelier, and a certain Iacentus perhaps commander of the palace guard (*AÉpigr* 1976, #750).

242 *CIL* 8.9344.

243 *CIL* 8.21089.

Others who are not known by name include the court secretary,[244] and the royal *stichologos*,[245] or poetic reciter.[246]

Ecloga the mime is known because she died in Rome at age 18. This emphasizes another aspect of the royal court: its continued close connections with the imperial family. Ecloga was perhaps sent from Caesarea to Rome as a bequest: others may have been the *structor* Chios Iubatianus[247] and the lady Julia Prima Iubatiana.[248] There were always interactions between the client kings and Rome. Juba and Augustus would have regularly exchanged letters, Juba seeking advice on policy and Augustus providing it. Juba maintained contact with other members of the imperial family – his eventual intimacy with Gaius Caesar, who was not born until after Juba left Rome, demonstrates this – and with the developing circle of Augustan intellectuals. He seems to have retained a friendship with Strabo for over half a century, even when they were at opposite ends of the empire. Juba certainly returned to Rome for visits, and had his own people in Rome who could keep him informed about cultural, political, and architectural activities in the capital. Kleopatra Selene would have had her own circle of correspondents, perhaps centering around her surrogate mother Octavia, and Augustus' daughter Julia, her coeval. The monarchs may even have maintained a home in the city of their upbringing, which would be one explanation for the freedmen and freedwomen who ended up there. It is perhaps unfortunate that many of the conclusions regarding the monarchs' relationship with Rome must be extrapolated from the eastern courts, which are not a good parallel since Mauretania was the only one in the west, and Roman attention tended to be directed more toward the East than the west, given the events of the 30s BC and the continuing Parthian threat. The Mauretanian court was more isolated than the eastern ones, being one of the few parts of the empire Augustus never saw, and with no record of a visit by any prominent Roman.[249]

244 *CIL* 8.21097.

245 *AÉpigr* 1952, #100; 1954, #210; Henriette Doisy, "Quelques inscriptions de Caesarea (Cherchel)," *MÉFRA* 64, 1952, 107–8.

246 A Juba who wrote on meter can be neither the king nor someone at his court, as his work is based on the writings of Heliodoros, of the mid–first century AC. This Juba seems to have lived in the Severan period, and may have been a descendant of a member of the royal court. See W. Kroll, "Iuba" (#3), *RE* 9, 1916, 2395–7; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Latin Literature from the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine*, reprint of third edition (New York: Methuen, 1967), p. 453; Otto Hense, "De Iuba artigrapho," *Acta Societatis Philologiae Lipsiensis* 4, 1875, 1–320.

247 *CIL* 6.9046; Braund, *Friendly King*, p. 143. A *structor* arranged the table and served the food: Petronius 35.2; Juba, fr. 14 (Athenaios 4.170).

248 *CIL* 6.35602.

249 Suetonius, *Augustus* 47. Although this isolation raises questions as to the degree of intimacy between Augustus and Juba, it perhaps is more of a testimony to Juba's ability to run the internal affairs of his kingdom smoothly and the need for Augustus to keep a closer watch on the more unstable territories of the East, especially Herod's. Unlike that monarch, Juba had no need to make repeated trips to Rome to seek Augustan assistance in untangling his personal problems.